Some particular

ANIMADVERSIONS

of MARKE, for ſatisfaction of the contumatious MALIGNANT,

WITH

Some other Generall, and Remarkable obſervations, on the ſummons, of the late diſſolved, and of this Parliament upon the Kings deſerting the Houſe, and his retreat to YORKE. 1642. But more particularly of the ſwift Motions of the Corniſh Men, and thoſe of the South parts of the PRINCIPALITY, in their inconſiderat and unnaturall taking up of Armes againſt their Conſervatory, and principally of the various Paſſages of the County of PEMBROOKE, under the Tiranous Command of Generall GERRARD, where the War hath bin moſt barbarouſly cruell.

Together, with the ſeverall Fights, Defeates, Siedges, Skirmiſhes, Routs. Retreates betweene both Armies, with the differences, and Diviſions of the County of *Pembrooke*, and the finall Over-throw, and beating out of Generall GERRARDS laſt plundring Army out of that County, and the miraculous Reduction, of all South WALES, by Maior Generall LAVGHERNE.

With ſome humble Propoſitions, both for the ſuppreſſion of the Inſolencies of the Souldier, and ſpeedy Reparation of ſuch as have ſuffered in the loſſe of all their Eſtates for the publike Cauſe.

Humbly adreſt to the High Court of Parliament.

LONDON

PRINTED, *Anno Dom.* 1646.

For the Right Honourable, LORDS the Peeres, and Gentlemen of the Honourable Houſe of *COMMONS*.

THE Author, as to the firſt part of his Animadverſions touching the late motions of the State, in the viſible purſuance of Arbytrary power, preſents them not as newes to a Court of Parliament, the evidence whereof being obvious to all the world, onely hee rankes them here in a new fyle, for ſatisfaction of the incredulous Malignant, not capable to owne his owne friends, neither will be ſenſible what your indefatigable labours have beene, or take notice of the pains you have taken, during theſe

foure yeares, for Preſervation of the common freedome and liberties of the Kingdome.

As to the ſecond part, which is a narrative, touching the Warre under the conduct of major Generall *Laughorns*, it is offered to all of diſcerning Iudgements, how mirakculouſly Gods ſpeciall providence hath evidently appeared as well in that particular of the County of *Pembrook* as in the Generall proſperity of the Kingdoms armes.

The concluſive part, is both humbly monotory and petitionary, that, that poore deſſolated County, with the parts adiacent may be timely taken into your compaſsionate conſideration, and ſuch a ſpeedy courſe taken therein as may beſt ſuit with your preſent great and urgent affairs: The diſtreſſed condition whereof (through *Gerrards* cruelties) is truly laid open unto you; as alſo the way of this Counties repaire (in ſome competent meaſure) humbly preſented in a few Propoſitions, which may both rectifie the many grievances and diſſentions of this County, together, with the diſorder of the Souldier; without other charging the State, or farther troubling, your important Conſultations, otherwiſe, then in your timely deſignation of ſome honeſt and able Gentlemen, (as your Commiſsioners)

¶ The inveterate fewds and diſſentions of this County, hath beene a great hindrance to the publike ſervice, and if not timely compoſd, may be of a more dangerous conſequence

miſſioners, to examine all grievances, eſpecially in the behalfe of ſuch, as have ſuffered in the loſſe of their whole eſtates in the publike ſervice, and are at preſent reduced to extreame want and penury, the care whereof in all humbleneſſe is deſired and left to your pious providence, leaſt the conſtant party there ſhould bee utterly diſheartned, and at ſuch time, as there may be preſent uſe of their farther ſervice, ſince probable it is, that the Iriſh Rebels (on their late victory) may thruſt over ſuch Forces into that County and *Milford-Haven*, as may turn the Skales of your Victories here (if not timely prevented, by garding thoſe Coaſts with a ſtrong Fleete,) both the Welch Nation, and Engliſh Malignants in the generall (howſoever now maſtered) retaining ſtill their wonted hearts, may in all likely-hood on all occaſions joyne with the ſtrongeſt.

And thus in all humilitie hath the Author taken the boldneſſe to preſent unto your wiſdoms the whole ſcope of his poore indeavours, and humbly craves farther leave to conclude with the Oracles of two great Princes, wiſhing, that they may profit ſuch, as they moſt concerne.

The ſtrength of a King is the preſervation of the State, the foundation thereof, is the people, and

King *James* his Speech in Parliament, 1609.

and Woe unto them, which devides the weale of a King from that of the Kingdome.

How guilty the Delinquent and malignant party have beene in the fomentation of the preſent deviſions, the appeale is made to their owne Conſciences, which have moſt unnaturally invaded the people in their repreſentative, and have indeavoured to deprive both King and Kingdome of their great Councell.

Æquius eſt me tot, & talium amicorum conſilium, quam tot & tales, meam unius voluntatem ſequi.

How averſe His Majeſties great heart hath beene in following the veſtigia of this famous Emperor and how fatall to himſelfe, let 3. ruined Kingdomes be the Arbiters, and his owne conſcience the faithfull umpier.

Your moſt conſtant and faithfull
Servant,
Gil: Batt:

Some

Some particular Animadverſions of Marke, for ſatisfaction of the contumacious Malignant with, &c.

Humbly adreſt to the High Court of Parliament.

AFter ſo long a time in the myſterious ſteerages of Court and State, during the laſt, and of this raigne; It is now confeſt and knowne to all the Kingdome, that the late diſſolved Parliament, was aſſembled to one and the ſelfe ſame end, as that of *Ireland*, was (ſomwhat before) by the late Deputy *Strafford*; only to raiſe mony for the managing of a moſt unneceſſary and injurious Warre, and as unadviſedly undertaken, againſt the Scots without any reſpect to the generall Reformation here either in Church or State, (both then growne ſick even to the very highth of ſundry and various diſtemperatures, and as we may ſafely judge, through the defects, and want of the due effects, of moſt of our latter Parliaments, Courts, which have ever bin the great and ſupreame regulating Councells of this glorious Monarchie; As alſo in purſuance of the grand deſigne to make concluſions on the natives, by ſtealing in upon them (by degrees)

ſome innovations in their Church diſcipline, as Tryalls, or precurſions, to future incroachments, to bee introduced in their Civill Adminiſtrations, all conducing to bring in abſolute power throughout the three Kingdomes, in one compleat conformity to inthraldome. This Kingdome with that of *Ireland* (having by fineneſſe of wit and the contrivance of our late Artizans of State) bin aforehand readily trained, and inured to the impatient ſufferance of Ship taxations and other arbitrary levyes, whilſt that of *Scotland* (different to the others, in ſundry poynts, of their fundamentalls, and the ſoveranty there ſome what incongruous to either) ſtood as a *Remora*, and in the way of our grand Maſters, and Ingeneeres of Court; The Scotts, being a people, quick-ſighted and incompaſſible to indure all changes and Innovation in Government, neceſſarily made the worke where to begin, ſo much the more difficult, in this, that to reduce them to the like conformity, might in the iſſue prove a dangerous ingagement of both Nations in a direfull warre: This being providently foreſeene by the late * Parliament and in common Prognoſtication of the beſt diſcerning judgments, what the event of ſuch a Warre would be (An aſſured weakning of the puyſance of both Kingdomes. Yet our high bearing ſtatiſts, ſtrong in their owne vaine Imaginations, conceived it to much loſſe of reputation to ſitte ſtill with ſafety, but after a juſt & * Royall pacification granted repertwaded the King to purſue the deſigne, in a ſecond preparation of war, contrary to his Majeſties faith given to the *Scotts* Nobility that they ſhould remaine as they were, without infringment of their Nationall Covenant inſtituted by the late King 1580. It is as preciſely true, that this Parliament (ſo much in the eye and *odium* of his Majeſties averſation, and of ſo terrible an aſpect to the many Delinquents) was at ſuch a time aſſembled, as that the Kings hopes and deſignes, (on the comming in of the *Scotts* at *Newborne* 1640. were at an inſtant turn'd about to an after Game, or to check at Cheſſe without either poſſibility of remotion, to go on with ſafety, or backward without extreame loſſe of honour at home and reputation abroad, into ſo intricat a laborinth, and toyle of embroylement, had the Cabbinet Councell then both ingaged the King, and indangered

(*) The late parliament diſaſting this Warr, were reſolved to give the King ten Subſidies for a peace, rather then one for a Warre with Scotland.

(*) The King on hearing of the *Scots* allegations and abſent from his ill Councell, granted them his Royall pacification but on his returne out of the North, 1639. was trayterouſly councelled to renew the war by the Cab. Councell.

dangered all the Kingdomes; And at such a season, and in the close of so long a calme of Peace and tranquillity as the three Kingdomes never yet attained unto; both the late King, and his Majesty now regnant, having alwayes beene in perfect peace and amity, with most of the Princes of Europ neither, for thirty six yeares to gether, had they any other warres, but vapours [*] or such as our of the voluptuousnes of the times, & wantonnesse of the great privadoes of Court were as rashly undertaken as vainly prosecuted, without either sufficient grounds, or foresight of their issues; hence it is, as wise men have long since observed, that from the very first treaty with *Spaine* for a Mariage with the *Infanta*, an [*] evident improsperity hath inseperably hanted the affaires of both Raignes.

To speake in tearmes of plainenesse, the principall Instruments of state in this Raigne never exceeded more then a [*] Triumvirat or a knot of some few (all others, being but for stales, or uses, workmen, (*ordinis secundi*) of a subordinate degree; though all united, Concentring, in the advance of the grand designe, and Master-peece, *viz.* Absolute Soveraignty over the Vniversall people.) men rather cryed up by ignerants, and those of their owne followers and faction, for persons of waight and of worth then parted, and indowed with abilities in the true prackticke of State affaires, either befitting Military employments, or in times of peace, with judgment and moderation, so to manage the Royall and publike administrations, as to conserve them in the same posture of felicity, wherein, (at their first arrivall to grace and favour in Court) they found them; but only applying themselves, rather to comply with the Kings inclinations, (as having aforehand learned the Scope and measure of his propension) then by safe and honest Councells, to allay, and divert, the heat of his Majesties affectations, in the advance of the Soveraigntie to some higher pitch and straine, then other stood with his Oath and honour to affect, or with his power to accomplish, otherwise, then with greater hazard, then the acquision of them could bee possibly worth, either in true valuation with himselfe, or estimation of others of judgement and solidity to discerne the sequell, and dangers insident to all innovations and changes in a long e-

* The French and Spanish Warres *primo & secundo Caroli.*

(*) As God prohibits all Mariages with adulterate, and Idolatrous Princes, Deu. 7. so is it rarely seene that any blessing can follow that Prince which breakes over that law which God hath prescribed.

Strasord.
Canterbury
Cottington.

† Both Stra. and Cant. leered and contemptuously spoken of in the French Court, for men insolent, and of little reach especially by the Cardnall Richeleu.

* *Vide Straford* in the Juncta, loos & absolvd from all the Reignes of government, you are now to do what power wil admit, *Idem* Archbishop by the laws of *God* and man you ought to have assistance and lawfull to take it: L. *Cottington* gave the same advice.

* On the Scots Petition, the Petition of the 25 Lords, and the Yorkshire Petition, the King yeelded to summon a Parliament in both kingdoms during his residence at *Yorke*, 1639.

* The King counselled to run the course of his future government. *Ala Francoys* Take notice saies *Straford*) my L. *Cottington*, the King of *France* hath a wise Councell, for he sends his Officers to search all Merchants books and finding the richest men, hath his horse troops ready to leavy the assesment,

stablished Government: And thus were the Kings Councells carried along, or (as we may better say) swayed by a few, * unfaithfull to their master, and perfidious to the State; And by two of them [how soever we may hope, they are now with God] yet living of inexorable natures, and of immoderate aspirations, the other of another kinde of temper, subtile, untrusty, and umbrating, an affected wylinesse, under the vayle of a Spanish garbe, or Gravity: But joyntly all three, bigge, with Innovation: [as if in want of other employment, they had them studdied how to discompose the common tranquillity, and by cutting out some new and destructive worke, to thrust out the kingdomes into combustion; The state of the Kings, and Kingdomes affaires, so lead on, and to render them, in plain Caractors of truth, strenuously inforst and driven on, *pancis, nec non honestis, rerumque novarum cupidis*; Insomuch, that when this Parliament was [out of necessity] to be assembled, neither the King, nor those his seemingly wise and over-bold instruments could possibly discerne the way whither they would goe, or how to drive on their designes, with any warrantable hopes answerable to their expectation: In this perplexity and amidst the concussion of both Nations [before generally in good tearms of brotherly affection one with the other] this so formidable and persecuted Parliament, with that of *Scotland*, were then thought fit to be assembled, as the only means remaining, both to recover, and inlarge the King, and to quiet the Kingdomes; when at their very first sitting downe all former sterages of State and Court contrivances, tending to the subversion of the fundamentalls of the ancient government, together with the Authors of the Scottish troubles and brochers of Innovation both in the Church and and Common-wealth we are all called to accompt [as the first and most proper worke of a Court of Parliament] and then (evident it was) that their future course would be to reduce all new-cut-out and indirect streames, and straines of government into their old and usuall Channell; A labour of a very high and difficult taske, if considered what time had wrought through the long disuse of our Parliaments, which had they been more frequently called, would doubtlesse have stayd or thwarted the * Kings egar pursuite in new moulding the old

old frame into some other modell, so long aforehand prepared, and in a faire progression, only by the Regall power, whence it was apparent, that the work became the more unweldy, and the knot of Arbitrary contrivements, then more hard to bee untyed by this Parliament, then others formerly had ever bin accustomed unto: Wee need not presse this on the common beliefe that Parliaments at any time were otherwise pleasing to the late King, then as the exegencies of his wants urged, their summons to serve the present, for repleni shing of his empty Coffers; nor that His now Majesty would ever have summoned this in being, much lesse to make it perpetuall, but meerely out of the extremity of inforcement to disingage himselfe of an incombrance, from which, without a Parliament, there appeared then no *medium* to recede, or any by way, whether he might handsomly make his retreate, whereas had it been his Majesties good fortune, to have been faithfully councelled, and at his first accession rightly instructed, [as it was his ill fate alwayes to be misinformed by such of his * Ministers of both roabes, as have had the honour of his eare] of the nature and constitution of this Soveraignty and how much it imports, a King of *England*, to summon his Parliaments, before he needs them, or that the obliquities of the Church and Common-wealth requires them for the generall reformation, and that when they are assembled, how much it concernes both Prince and people, that they be cherished and backt by the Royall authority, as Courts which are the invincible pillars of the Royalty, and onely buttrises of the State, It could not possibly have fallen out, that so great a fatallity should have befallen His Majesties perticular and the universall populacy of three so late flourishing kingdomes; which as now they are wasted, weakened, and embroyled cannot be recovered, nor their ruptures handsomly made up untill [by the blessing of God] a right understanding of each others right may be, timely begotten between his Royall selfe and the great Councells of the kingdomes; certain it is that (of all humane causes) the *primum mobile*, of all our Tragicall sufferings, was His Majesties aversation to that, which is the inheritance of the kingdome (Parliaments) and the same which God, men, and the lawes of the Land required, and

* The base flattery of the Prelaticall Clergy both in their writings and Sermons for the upholding of absolute power in Kings directly opposite to divinity: The treachery of the Judges in their extrajudiciall sentences, for the Kings raising of mony at will and pleasure against the knowne laws of the land, and dissonant from the constitution of this Soveraignty: betweene both these the King hath bin insufferably abused, and the Kingdomes extreamly, both weakened, and ruined. Those of our Princes which have cast themselves on their Parliaments never repented it.

* The English Soveraignty not absolute, but *mixtum imperium*, Aristocraticall and democraticall.

would have at ſuch a time to be ſummoned, when long before it was reſolved, Parliaments ſhould have beene coffind up, in their laſt funerall rites, and the King Royally intending to rule alone, and without them, ſo inſearchable, and paſt finding out are the wayes of him, *by whom Kings Raigne*, and muſt ſtoope their wils to his, who as well diſpoſeth of their Scepters, as of the hearts of their Vaſſalls: We ought not to queſtion known truths without prejudice to the publike faith, for it was written in large Caracters, in the Kings aſpect, that the very *principia* of this Aſſembly, and the tracts they walkt in, were not only averſe to his Royall inclinations, but ſeemed to all * thoſe which had a hand in leading on His Majeſties deſignes, to bee of a terrible continuance, as evidently portending the aſſured ruine of many both of their hopes and fortunes: When certaine it was, that the party adjuvant and delinquent might both ſtand up and ſhun the perrill, then imminently hanging over their heads; a courſe of neceſſity, muſt be found out both how to quaſh this ſo furious a Parliament (as then it was apprehended it would be) and conſequently to annihilate all others, that in time to come might be ſummoned as obſtackls, which might in the future hinder the growth of abſolute power; Omiting perticularities, It was then, & now more manifeſtly known that the Court contrivances, wherby to effect this great worke of annihilation, were many contiguous dangerous in their attempt and more daring, then ever have bin attempted on any of our Parliaments, and ſuch as were beyond common expectation, and the beliefe of all men of ſober judgment, could have bin enterprized, againſt the great Councell of the Kingdome. The wonder being ſo much the more, that the King himſelfe ſhould build his hopes on ſuch feeble, and uncertaine foundations, as to ſet up his reſt, on an enterprize of ſo unlikly and improbable an atchievement, as to graple with the power of the Kingdome, then contracted, and compacted in its repreſentative. But we paſſe over, the ennumeration of the many various and ſundry practiſes, as in order of their invention, from time to time, and without intermiſſion they were put on the tryall of their execution; though, hitherto by divine providence they have proved, fruitleſſe in their effect, yet moſt remarkable it is, that on his Majeſties

recelle

* The Delinquents and Court Paraſits conſpire at firſt to quaſh this Parliament & conſequently all others to come that might cal them to an accompt for their miſbehaviour.

receſſe, and deſerting the Houſe, and the bulke of the Parliaments ſtrength, then much maimed, leſſened, and weakned, both in defect of the head, and by ſo great a de ection o the parts, and tergiverſation of the Members *(falcifying the truſt of their Countries) yet that the remaining and truſty part ſhould notwithſtanding beare up in the defence of the publik intereſt, and amidſt ſo many and powerfull Interjections ſlight & vilipend, that ridiculous Conventickle, or mungrell Parliament at *Oxford* trayterouſly oppo'ed againſt this, ſo legally aſſembled. It muſt be acknowledged that Almighty God ſtood with the cauſe and infuſed them with the ſpirit of courage, and that his ſpeciall providence, had a high hand in t e conduct of their preſervation: But we muſt now locke back and ſhall only touch on the maine contrivances in their greſſe, and as they were at the Kings comming to *Yorke*, there ſet a foot firſt for raiſing of an Army whereby [on all former failancies] by force of Armes, to over-power this Parliament and as after it was reſolved, to ereſt the Royall Stendard at *Nottingham* ſo to draw up the power of the people againſt themſelves, in their repreſentative together with his Majeſties Commiſſions of Array, * diſpatcht into ſeverall parts of the Kingdome as if ſome forraigne Euemy had then beene in preparation to invade the State, pre-invaded and only by those, which ſhould have defended it. We ſhall but only men- tion thoſe Commiſſions, ſent into the North and other thoſe remote parts, [thought then moſt apt to ſecond his Majeſties intentions, and moſt out of the noyſe of the people and hearing of the Parliament] ignorant in the right underſtanding both of the cauſe an l artifices of Court and ſhall chiefly inſiſt on thoſe ſent into the Weſt, as Commiſſioned to the Marqueſſe of *Hartford*, his Brether, the Lord St. *Maure* and Sir *Ralph Hopton*. Theſe three Lords about *July* 1642. comming out of the North, came firſt to *Marlborough*, ſummoning the Major and his Bretheren, to repayre to their Lordſhips, they ſhewed them their Commiſſion of Array, but found them more round then they expected, the towne who'ly ſtanding up for the Parliament; thence they bent their courſe immediatly towards *Bath*, *Briſtoll*, and *Wells*, where the Inhabitants were as averſe to thir Commiſsions, as to ſubmit their head

* The ſtrange and unheard of [illegible] the people againſt themſelves.

to

to the block, though all three of them were in those Countries both powerfull in Tenancye, and generally in the good opinion and affection of the people, but no sooner, appearing in this strange and unheard of errand, but they became of despicable accompt, as the sequell thereupon proved it to be most true, for they were shortly after beaten, and chased away from *Mendippe* and *Wells*, whence, withall the strength they could possibly raise, they retreated to the Castle of *Sherborne* (his Lordship *Cottington*, as one of their grand assistants, not liking the businesse, took an occasion to leave them the night before.) The Lords, with the rest of their Associats, being there beseiged, shortly after made an eruption, and in a confused march or flight, [finding those parts to hot for their abiding, and nothing conformable to their commissions] haste to *Myniard*, the whole Country rising upon them: whereupon dividing themselves, *Hopton*, tending towards the Cornish men [a sort of people Robustious, and in the generall utterly unacquainted with the wayes and subtilties of Court] neither understanding the true state of the Cause were easily seduced by him. The other Lords, instead of better sanctuary betooke themselves to Sea and came to *Cardiffe*, thence to, *Carmarthin*, and in all their fruitlesse journey visited most of the Townes of South-Wales, working on the forwardnesse, and facillity of the natives partly by their oratory, and power of their Commissions, [a people as easily to be seduced] were for the Major number, all soone won, and led away with the name of the King, and his Authority abused, without looking into the nature of the controvercy, and how meerly it concerned them all to mind their owne preservation, in that of the safegard of the common conservatory. The whole Country of *South-wales*, [some few Gentlemen heere and there excepted unanimously then rising for the King, Only, on the Lords Summons from *Carmarthan*, to the more westerly Countrys, some few Gentlemen of the Country of *Pembrooke*, neither appeared or complyed with their Lordships, but stood on their defences, neither were they above eight or ten at the most, which from the first beginning of the War to the present stood firme to the Parliament, when the Lords by the aid and assistance of the Earle of *Carbrry* and his party [powerfull

*A few Gentlemen only of the County of *Pembrook* withstood the Lords and the Commissioners of Array against the generall vote of all the principalitie.

full in thoſe parts conceived that they had then overcome the greateſt part of their worke, having forwarded and ſent away, conſiderable numbers of the natives, to the King before the Battle at Edge Hill, ſhortly thereupon [with ſuch Regiments, as by my Lord of *Carberys* meanes were raiſed, neere and about *Carmarthin*, the Counties of *Cardican* and *Brecknock*,) they marcht up to His Majeſtie at *Oxford*, when the command of the Counties of *Carmarthin*, *Cardican*, and *Pembrocke*, fell in diſpute, betweene their Lordſhips of *Carbury* and *Glamorgan*, His Majeſtie in concluſion, was pleaſed to conferre that honour on his Lordſh. of *Carbery* as Commander in chiefe under his highneſſe the Prince; And *Glamorgan* then Commiſſioned for the Counties of *Hereford*, *Monmouth*, as next adjacent to *Ragland*, where hee had raiſed a conſiderable Army, and lay down at *Heynham* two myles diſtant from the City of *Gloſter*, and about ten dayes before *Eaſter*, 1642. were all beaten and taken by Sir *William Waller*: The courſe, which henceforth we intend to hold in the way of our Annimadverſions, is to preſent the principall Incendiaries, with the active ſticklers, of every County within the circuit of South Wales, as alſo thoſe of quality which have ſtood firme to the Parliament, The late Biſhop of *Landaffe*, Maſter *Henry Vaughn*, Maſter *Francis Loyd*, (both ſhortly after Knighted at *Oxford*) the Atturney *Lewes*, one Maſter *Loyd* of the frowd, with ſome * Divines, [which would have a ſhare in the buſineſſe] all of the County of *Carmarthin*, were then noted as the moſt active ſticklers, and ſetters on of my Lord of *Carbery*, both to embrace the employment, and to have been the moſt vehement traducers of the Parliament, as for the reſt of other Counties, together, which ſuch plundering Commanders, as have aſſiſted in this unnaturall War, we ſhall impartially and in their due place aford them a room in our annimadverſions, with a mark on their foreheads to be known to poſterity: Onely I crave leave firſt to declare the occaſion of mine and ſome others of my acquaintance, comming in to theſe parts, and how wee came to bee eye witneſſes of much, which I ſhall here preſent in the way of our Obſervations: And it was thus, certaine Gentlemen of ancient familiarity, chanced to meet at *Newbery*, about the time that both Armyes

* No plot of knavery without a Prieſt, *Latterner* in his Sermon before K. *Edw.* the ſixth.

quartered on all the Roads, westerly from *London*, shortly after the fight at *Brainford* in *November* 1642. where wee fell into discourse, where the safest place of the Kingdome might be, to secure our selves from the fury of the Warre, and our conclusion was, that neare about the center of *South-Wales*, either at *Brecknock* or *Carmarthin*, would be the place of our safest residence, wherein (on the upshot of our accompt) we were much mistaken, howsoever some of us about Easter following, heareing of the drayning of Walles of Men and Armes, and that the Lords (fled thither as before) were all gone up to the King at *Oxford*, we tooke our journey into those parts, and liking not our stay at *Brecknock*, where then Col. *Harbert*, *Price* with one *Iefferyes* his Nephew, *Stedman* & most of the Gentry of that County were in Armes for the King; we determined to move to *Carmarthin*, being there arived we found the town Garisond with 2. or 3. hundred Souldiers under the command of one Capt. *Gwilliam*, thence wee resolved to remove some what farther, and accidentally took up our Lodging at an English Gentlemans house, who had there planted himselfe neare upon 20. yeares before & one, * that whilst our aboad was with him, suffered in no small measure, but since our departure miserably plundered on all sides, and more by the Parliament party then the Kings though, both a constant well-wisher to the Cause, and to the uttermost of his power a knowne & willing Country but or thereunto, here we had no sooner taken up our Quarters, but wee understood that one Captaine *Thomas Butler*, a Gentleman decayed in his fortunes, and of the County of *Pembrooke*, out of that vaine and common immagination of advancing his estate, by siding with the King, whether right or wrong, it was his, and the Generall understanding of the Country, that the sure and safest side must be the Kings.

This silly and halfe witted Captaine was one that would be notable & the first in action, had some what before raised 120. loose fellowes, of the very scum and vermin of the County of *Pembrooke*, and had possest himselfe of the Town and Castle of *Laherne* in the County of *Carmarthin*, and within two miles of our then residence: We now proceed and shall purposely omit all passages acted by the Gentlemen of *Pembrook*

* Mr White of Castle Tough, inforced to fly to Sea, the Gentlewoman his Wife, by the tyranicall insolency of the Souldier, frighted to her Grave, his Eldest Son barbarously imprisoned, his second Son cut and mangled, some of his servants wounded to death in their owne houses, the rest with all his poore Tenants inforced to fly the country, and his many children left utterly destitute of all meanes to keep them alive.

brookeſhire, coneerning the former Commiſſions, both of the Array and militia, with their ſeverall deputations both by the King and Parliament, as not much more pertinent to our purpoſe, then to make our obſervations to, to *Vrimmos*, but ſhall only inſiſt on thoſe Commiſſions brought downe in the Lent following the battle at *Edge-Hill* by my Lord of *Carbery*, as Commander in Chiefe of the Counties of *Carmarthen*, *Cardican*, & *Pembrook*. Theſe beginings in ſo remote parts where, then there was no feare of other Enemies, then of themſelves; and therefore, the leſſe need to raiſe forces, and to Garriſon Townes otherwiſe, then out of their owne Levity to be men of action, and in a Country where, (if they would) they might have bin moſt ſecure, had they had the grace to have knowne their owne happineſſe, or to have harkened to the advice which was then given them, by us ſtrangers: but they were generally reſolved to be active, upon what grounds and reaſons they would take up Armes, was the leaſt part of the diſpute, It being in every mans mouth that ſuch as would not appeare for the King againſt the rogues the Parliament, were Traitors to God and his Majeſty, and that ſuch as would we are ſure to be well rewarded, and could not expect a leſſe compenſation then to have good ſhares given them of the Parliament Members Eſtates, and of their partakers, whence we made our Iudgements, and found it to be moſt true; that it was not the cauſe (which they little heeded) but the hopes of gaine and advancement, was the only Load-ſtone, that drew their Iron into the Field, and to take part with the King, though to the ruine of the Kingdome and diſtruction of themſelves as the ſequell, ſince hath proved it to be moſt true? The certaine Intelligence of theſe beginnings and preparations in the County of *Carmarthin*, together with my Lord of *Carberyes* Commiſſions, as Commander in Chiefe of the three Counties, being then publikly knowne, and ſignified by his Lordſhips letters to the Gentlemen in generall of the County of *Pembrooke*, much ſtartled theſe few which ſtood immoveable, in defence of the Militia, and in deſiance of the Commiſſions of Array. Whereupon, Sir *Hugh Owins* Sir *Richard Phillips*, old, Mr. *Iohn Langhorne*, Mr. *Rowland Langhorne*, the (now Major Generall)

* It was further commonly ſpoken, by the beſt ſort of the Gentlemen that the welſh were the true Brittaines, and his Majeſtyes beſt and only Orthodox ſubjects, and Pembrookſhire men for the moſt part Saxons and Baſtards.

Mr. *Arthur* (*) *Owins*, Mr. *Griffeth White* Esquiers Captaine *Walter Canny*, Mr. *Georg Addams*, Mr. *Thomas Powell*, and his three Brethren, Colonell *Rice Powell*, Capt. *John* & *Wil. Powell* Mr. *Devereaux Wyat* with his 2. Brethren Aldermen of *Tinbye*, with *John Pryer* Major of the Towne of *Pembrooke* being the only persons of any quality, which stood first, and ever since firme to the Parliament held a consultation amongst themselves what was to be done in the case, though I verily beleive that there were many more of the Gentlemen, which would have shewed themselves, and were right in their affections to the publike but that they shrunk in the wetting, and so soone as my Lord of *Carberry*, first by his invitations and after by menaces, made them to stand aloofe, and in the conclusion to comply with his Lordship, and in the way of Subscription and signing his pleasure under their owne hand writing, as hereafter it will more manifestly appeare, Howso ever the former Gentlemen, well foreseeing the danger, that attended them, and considering, that they had then no Commission, directory from the Parliament to warrant their undertakings, it was privatly resolved, betweene Mr. *John Laughorne*, Mr. *Arthur Owen*, and the now Major Generall, to employ some trusty Messenger to my Lord Generall *Essex*, to acquaint his Excellency of the true estate of their Country, and to this charge one Captaine *Phillip Bowin* was designed and privatly sent away in the Lent time, 1642. who, in the Easter weeke following returned with severall Commissions, authorizing Mr. *Rowland Laughorne*, as Colonell of a Regiment of foote together with another Commission, to Sir *Rich. Phillips* Sir *Hugh Ownis*, Mr. *John Laughorne*, Mr. *Arthur Owins*, and Mr. *Lewes Barlow* as assistants to Colonell *Laughorne*, with a speciall charge, to defend their Townes, and *Milford Haven* as a place of principall importance, to the uttermost of their power, untill some other ayds might be sent unto them from the Parliament, whereupon, amongst themselves, they raised some 50. or 60. horse, and two or three Companies of foot, mand, and fortified the Townes of *Tinby* and *Pembrook*, *John Pryer*, Major of the place being very Active in the repaier of the walles, then much demolished. In the

(*) Lately chosen Knight of the County of Pemb.

the meane time my Lord of *Carbery* ſummoned in the principall Gentlemen of the County to repaire to his Lordſhip at *Carmarthin*, and to comply with him, as the Kings Generall of *Carmarthin Pembrooke*, and *Cardican* ſhires, whither very few o the former Gentlemen did or would appeare, whereupon divers Letters, and Meſſages, were ſent by his Lordſhip to perſwade them all to a Generall complyancy with his honour, and thereupon much debate there was betweene his Lordſhip and the Gentlemen (diſcentors) concerning the government of that County: my Lord Generall *Carberry* by vertue of his Commiſſion, minding to have the ſole command thereof, in the behalfe of the King, as he had (without diſpute) of the other two Counties of *Crdican* and *Carmarthin* they to keepe the County of *Pembrooke* in their owne Command for King and Parliament. And when as divers and ſundry treaties, Letters, and Meſſages tooke not the effect that each party affected: his Lordſhip in perſon, about *July* following 1643. came attended with his friends and followers, accompanied with that grave Gentlemen *David* * *Ienkins* as his aſſiſtant and Law-director, all in the way of a millitary equipage, and amounting in number to a little army, to the *Abby* of *Whitland*, on the very confines of the County of *Pembrooke*, whither the Gentlemen in generall were before ſummoned to give his Lordſhip meeting, and ſome of the more newtrall and tymorous of them punctualy obſerved their time the reſt aforenamed abſenting themſelves: In the concluſion and after a long debate, certaine writings and agreements were then ſigned betweene them, conducing to a compliancy with his Lordſhip, and for raiſing of a conſiderable ſumme of money to be preſented to his Majeſty in token of their obedience to my Lords eommand, & ſhortly thereupon, they again met his Honour, both at *Haverford-West*, and at *Carmarthin* where other Writings were ſigned betweene them, the before abſented Gentlemen for the Major part alwayes refuſing to give his Lordſhip any meeting at all; and thereupon, they were particularly threatned by Judge *Jenkins*, and the Atturney *Lewes* to be proclaimed Traitors and ſhortly there upon, Baronet *Owins* was by the Iudges in *Haverford* arreſted of High Treaſon: In the concluſion it was there a-

* It was conceived by ſome knowing men, that Ienkins was ſet over his Lordſhip of *Carberry* to overlook his actions.

* This ſumme was 2000. l. & it was collected and paid to his Lordſhip.

greed, that the Gentlemen complyers, *vid.* Sir *Richard Phillips*, Mr. *Roger Lort*, Mr. *Lewes*, *Barlow*, Mr. *Thomas Bowin* and Mr. *John Elliot*. with Sir *Hugh Owins* (arreasted as aforesaid) should all attend his Lordship to *Oxford*, and in testimony of their submission were by him brought before the King to kis his Majestys hand. It is most true that my L. of *Carbery*, first used all the faire meanes he possibly could rather to winne them all to a complyance with him, then by force to compell them, but upon the upshot of their returne into their Countries: Sir (*) *Hugh Owins* much resenting his former Arrest at *Haverford*, made suit to the King for repaire in honour for the indignity offered him by the Judges, whereunto his Majesty replyed, that right should be don him as he desired, for you shall said the King be tryed by your Country, according to law, and so was he committed to the Custody of the Earle of *Carberry* as a Prisoner, to be returned to *Haverford*, or as his Lordship should dispose of him, and the rest of the Gentlemen taking their leaves, had Licence to returne to their homes. In the meane time, and during the space, that these contrivances were in agitation at *Oxford*, & the summer well past over, the Major Generall, and his small party were not Idle for howsoever, their strength, were not much considerable as being forsaken, by so great a party of the Gentry, yet had they by this time well fortified their Towns of *Pembrook* and *Tinby*, and stood upon their defences they being then of so inconsiderable a number, in comparison of his Lordships power, and the forces of the Counties of *Cardican* and *Carmarthin*, all at his devotion, as also the County of *Pembrooke* divided in affection & in inveterate feuds, and factions amongst themselves, and the High Sheriffe, Mr. *Albon Owins*, commanding the *posse Commitatus*, and his two active Brethren, the *Harrold* and Doctor *Owins*, both vehement sticklers, in the Country, and in *Oxford*, blasting and branding the names and fames of the Major Generall and the Gentlemen (incomplyants) as also, all *South-Wales* wholly for the King. That it is one of the wonders of the times, how they durst stand up as the did, but rather a peece of a miracle, and to speake in teames of truth, the immediate hand of the Almighty, that from such small beginnings,

so

* This Gent. hath bin strangly used and hurried up and downe, and all to take him off from the Parliaments service.

* His bastard Brethren.

ſo great, and ſo many actions, ſhould in a nooke of a little County, ſurrounded with powerfull enemies) be performed by a poore handfull of unarmed men. I have hitherto only, preſented ſome paſſages, and intimations of diſputes and treaties, betweene his Lordſhip of *Carberry*, and the *Pembrookeſhire* Gentlemen, I now come to the active part, and as my Lord Generall *Carberry* proceeded on the end of the Summer 1643. when his Lordſhip had drawne together out of thoſe Counties, and the Garriſons a very conſiderable ſtrength both of horſe and foote, and as we made computation of their numbers on their march, could not be ſo few as 3000. ablemen. With this Army, his Lordſhip marched up to *Haverford-Weſt*, and open and ſpacious Towne, but incapable of any defenſible fortification yet as it was, he raiſed works on the approaches, and made ſuch defences as the ſite of the place would permit, and after ſome ſhort reſidence in the Towne, he repaired to the pill, where viewing the whole Haven of *Milford*, he gave order for the raiſing of a Fort, which was exceedingly well choſen, and commanded a good part thereof, having before ſent for Cannon to *Briſtoll*, (then in his Majeſties poſſeſſion) which were timely ſent him, and in good proportion. In this fort, his Lordſhip placed Mr. *John Barlow*, a moſt Malignant Church Papiſt, and the ſame, who [about the firſt ſitting downe of this Parliament] entertained Sir * *Toby Mathew* when he tooke the ſurvay of *Milford Haven* as Commander thereof having man'd the ſame, and the *Pill* Towne with 500. good foot, his Lordſhips headquarters being then at *Haverford*, not above five miles diſtant from the Fort. There was then but one ſmall Ship of *John Poyers* the Major of *Pembrook*, in all the Haven which ſome what before he had ſurprized, by a very bould and adventurous Stratagem, and had taken out all her Gunns into the Towne and Caſtle, [then utterly unprovided of Ordnance] the Ship being ſhortly after retaken by two men of War, which his Majeſty had then ſent in, for my Lord of *Carberries* aſſiſtance, and ſure keeping of the Haven, his Lordſhips next endeavour was then how to gaine in the Towne of *Tinby*, a place of importance, a Port Towne, and accommodated with a very convenient and ſafe Harbor: To which purpoſe many Invitations were

* Sir *Toby Mathew* a ſuſpected Jeſuit, but a dangerous and active Papiſt, about the beginning of this Parliament, took ſurvay of *Milford-Haven*, to what end let the world Iudge.

were ſent thither, and many wyles uſed to perſwade the Major then one Mr. *Tho. Wyat* a rich and wealthy Merchant, to ſurrender the place, but it would not be granted; whereupon the Gentlemen, gract, as before at *Oxford* were imployed in the buſineſſe, to work the Major and Townſmen to deliver up the Towne to his Lordſhips hands, and to open the truth of the matter, ſome of them proceeded therein, with no ſmall ſedulity though ſince, they have beene all made Committees they utterly denigh any ſuch thing, It being well known, that on the turn of the wheele they were much befriended in their re-integration with the Parliament, by reaſon of the conſanguinity and alliance, moſt of them had, with Maſter *John White*, a late Member of the Houſe of Commons, but thither they came and imparted their buſineſſe to the Major and Townſmen, with that writing, * whereunto they had ſubſcribed in complyance, with his Lordſhip, and their declared unto them, that they muſt conſent, and do as themſelves had done before them and to yeeld up the Town, unto his Lordſhips command, and in ſo doing * ſome of them ingaged themſelves, on the loſſe of their whole eſtates, that it ſhould be re-delivered to them to bee kept for His Majeſties uſe and ſervice: Neither did others of them, ſo leave off their ſoliſitation when they could not prevayle, but threatned the Major to block up the Town, with Forts and Bulworkes at *Holleway* water ſo to deprive the townſmen of their market, and Judge *Jenkins*, ſpared not to ſend the Major this peremptory meſſage, that if hee did not ſpeedily deliver up the place to his Lordſhip, hee would have him hang'd at his owne doore, wondring at his refractorines, that ſince the whole County and *Haverford*, * had ſubmitted, hee alone, and ſome few others ill affected to His *Majeſties* ſervice, ſhould obſtinately ſtand out againſt the Generalls power: Moreover, that the principall paſſages [of late ſo much contraverted, and variouſly aſſerted, on all ſides] and that the manner of yeelding up this Town, with the lamentable (after) ruine thereof may bee laid downe in their naked truth, there was a plot deviſed to raiſe a muteny in the Town, in which tumult the Major himſelfe was compelled [for ſafeguard of his life) to take his houſe, and to locke up his doores, ſo violent ſome there were, which ſince (in excuſe of them-

* This writing beares date 17 of *Auguſt* at *Carmarvin* as neere as I can remember.

* Theſe Gentlemen, now utterly denigh their comming to *Tinby*, though avouched by the teſtimony of ten of the chiefe of the town, Sir *Rich. Philips* avouching that his name was or might be put in by ſome of the reſt, on his Lordſhip of *Carbery*.

* They denigh that *Haverford* was firſt yeelded up; which is cleatly falſe.

themſelves) would lay all the blame of giving up this Town, on the deceaſed Major, whom they untimely hurried to his grave, and ſince, as Committees which would ſhew, their power, have endevoured to ſequeſter a dead mans eſtate (as a malignant of their own making) (though right muſt be done to others of them, * which abhorred to conſent or to have a hand in ſo an unjuſt a Vote) ſo it was, and the plaine truth is, their indeavour was that way to cut ſcores, and to quit their debts they owed to the diſceaſed Major, as alſo to bereave his poore kindred with the poore of the place of their Legacies given them by the Majors laſt Will and Teſtament, It being apparently known, that the diſtreſſed man, (long ſince at reſt, and at peace with God) upon an alarme in the Town, and the ringing of the Bell, when all the Burgeſſes by their Oathes and cuſtome of the place, were to repaire to the Majors aſſiſtance, hee had not (after the ſaid mutiny) above three of the Townſmen, that would ſtand firme unto him, ſo cow'd and diſheartned, they were through the threats and practiſes of the adverſe party; Inſomuch, as being meerly forſaken of the Townſmen, *Haverford*, and the whole County [*Pembrooke* excepted] at his Lordſhips devotion, and himſelfe in utter diſpaire, longer, to hold the Town: He, with ſome others of the Aldermen, conceaved it, their ſafeſt way [as the cauſe then ſtood] to addreſſe themſelves to his Lordſhip then at *Marraſe* within 5. my'les of the Towne with his Forces, where they treated with his honour on theſe conditions, that after his Lordſhips admittance with a convenient traine, hee ſhould re-deliver the place to the Majors Government: But no ſooner had his honour the poſſeſſion of the towne but hee drew in the ſaid Captaine *Buciers* company, ſome companies of Colonell *David Guins* Regiment, with ſome other Commanders, and made one Major *Guin* Governour of the place, the poore Major being thus, and after this manner diſpoſſeſt of all, and having with much ſuite obtained leave to repaire to *Briſtoll*, [where the beſt part of his debts, and bills then lay indiſpaire of looſing] continued their, and at the Bath a very weake and diſconſolate man, untill on the firſt reduction of the whole County of *Pembrooke*, ſome of the old complying Gentlemen, [made Committees on the reaſon aforeſaid] and

*Maſter *Roger Lort*, Mr. *Geor. Adams*, Maſter *Geor. Howard* and others.

moſt of them indebted unto him began to queſtion his abſence, and to make his former yeelding up of the Towne to their ground-work of voting him a Malignant, which was attempted long after his deſceaſe, when as (living) he could not be won by all his Lordſhips faire inducements, neither overcome by threats, and the ſubtilties of treaties, nor corrupted with a bribe of 700.l. neither yeelded he the Towne at all, untill as foreſaid he was both wrought upon by the Gentlemen complyers threatned to be hanged at his owne doore, and a mutiney as aforeſaid raiſed againſt him by a party in the Towne adheering to his Lordſhip, I have the longer inſiſted on this particular of the Major of *Tinby*, in reſpect of the honour dew to the dead, that he was never in other eſteeme then that of a Religious & honeſt man, & one whoſe Purſe was continually and gratis open to all the Gentlemen of his County on all their occaſions, as alſo to ſhew that there are ſome of the Committees of this County, which are as others have bin in other parts of the Kingdome, high prohd, Emperious and hauty, which neceſſarily requires, a preſent refinement, for my owne particular I confeſſe that I have ſeene the man, but never changed word with him, and that we ſtrangers ſometimes made our aboad in the Town, ſometimes at *Pembrook*, *Haverford*, and at *Carmarthin*, as wee thought moſt convenient for our ſafeties, being loath to returne into our owne Country, where we underſtood that the heat and ſeat of the Warre was then moſt violent, but lead on by I know not what deſtiny to remaine in thoſe parts, we came at length to be eye-witneſſes, and ſenſible objects, of the moſt barbarous, and waſtfull Warre, that was in the Kingdome or could poſſibly befall a Country ſo indigent in money and deſtitute of men and meanes, whereby an Army might long ſubſiſt; Generall *Gerrard*, and his ravenous Army the firſt Summer of their comming into the Country, dividing the ſpoyle of the whole County betweene them, and to the great indammaging of no ſmall number of the Inhabitants of the Counties of *Cardican* and *Carmarthin*, the Commanders having learned the way, how to make any one in the repute of a rich man, a Round-head at their pleaſures; I am bold to avouch it for truth, that *Gerrard*, and his Commanders, the

firſt

firſt yeare of their Incurſion, took not ſo few as 20000. head of rather Cattle, nor leſſe then 60000. ſheepe, beſides Swine, Plate, Money, Houſehold ſtuffe, and other plunder out of that one little County. It being all Fiſh that came to their Nets the *Gerrards*, *Ruſſell* ſonne to Sir *William Ruſſell* late of the Navy, *Egerton Whitly*, *Price*, Sonne to Sir *John Price*, a late Member of the houſe, *Slawter*, *Rudde*, younger Sonne to Sir *Rice Rudde*, and *Lacy* the Player, with divers more, (all excellent Commanders in the diſſipline of plunder) weare noted to be the principall purveyors and Actors in the deſtraction of the County of *Pembrook*; *Gebrard* himſelfe, allwayes reſerving the Creame, and prime Cattle and plunder to his owne uſe.

But leaving this digreſſion the right courſe of our Relation, calls us back to the latter end, and period of my Lord of *Carbery*es Command, wee ſhall now proceed and ſhew that Major Generall *Langhorne* (on the ſurrender of the Towne of *Tinby*) with his ſmall retinue, ſeeing the diſtreſſe and danger they were in, Mr *Roger Lort* having then fortified his houſe at *Stackepoole*, whether for his owne defence, or for the King we cannot determine) Captaine *Smith* then ariving in the Haven, furniſhed him with a ſmall proportion of pouder and Ammunition, and preſently departed for the Coaſt of *Ireland*, when ſhortly after came in the Admirall *Swanly*, with two or three luſty Parliament Ships, his Majeſty as aforeſaid ſome what before having ſent in two Ships for the aſſiſtance of his Lordſhip, which perceiving what manner of Veſſells were then arived, the Kings Ships inſtantly ran under the Fort, which *Swanlys* greater Veſſells could not come neare them *Stackpoole* houſe as aforeſaid being fortified, on the backe of *Pembrocke*, *Treſloyne*, and *Tinby* before it, and the Caſtle of *Carew*, Gariſond, on the North ſide, and the Towne wholly ſurrounded with enemies and ſtrong Gariſons; In this perplexity the Major Generall on conſultation with the Admirall *Swanly*, thought it his firſt and ſafeſt worke to take in *Stackpoole* to which purpoſe and that he might not leave any Gariſon behind him having a ſupply of Sea men from *Swanly*, to the number of 80. or there abouts, fell on the houſe, which within a few Dayes hee tooke in, and thereupon, to

* He avouches that they had not a man more then his owne meniall ſervants, and thoſe only for defence of him ſelfe.

Stackpoole the firſt ſiege of the Major Generall.

inlarge his quarters, fell presently on *Treſloyne*, the Mansion of Master * *Thomas Bowen*, and within a myle of *Tinby*, [whither his Lordship was then arived] and having beleagured the place and planted one peece of Artillery below the house to impeade the reskewes, which he expected his Lordship might and would send out of *Tinby*, to the relieſe of the beſieged, he battered the place, with another Gun, and continued the aſſault, from morning to night: Captaine *Martin* a vaine obſcene and talking fellow, commanding the place, seeing no relieſe to bee sent him from his Lordship, within the night grew to capitulation, which was presently agreed on, and that himselfe and some few more, should have leave to retreat to *Tinby*, with their horses and Armes, the rest of their foot, armes and horse, to remaine to the discretion of the Major Generall, which were 47. very good horse, and about eighty Souldiers; his Lordship all the day being on the Workes, and looking on, never came up to the reskew, though within a mile of the place, and the tyde spent at *Holloway* river, between the house and *Tinby*, and having more in numbers in the Towne by much then the assaylants; The Major Generall having thus widned his quarter on both sides of *Pembrooke*, he then undertooke, as desperate an enterprize, as ever Commander could have attempted: The Fort, and Pill towne, [as aforesaid] being sufficiently mand and well fortified, and on the other side of the Haven, stored with exceeding good Ordnance, and a great quantity of Powder, and his Lordships head quarters then at *Haverford*, but 5. myles distant, and on the back of the Fort, notwithstanding the great perill, of passing over the River, [neer upon halfe a League over in breadth and on the Enemies side of the Haven] yet by the help of the Shipps and boates he put over two peeces of Ordnance, and having past over his little Army early in the morning his horse not exceeding 80. the foote skarse 400. hee planted his two Guns on a high hill over against the Fort, wch playd over the Pilford into the middell thereof, having before his cemming over given order that our Demy Cannon, planted at *Popton*, on *Pembrooke* side of the River should also play over the waſt of the Haven into the other side of the Fort, all which Guns, did very much annoy the Enemy then lodged in an open, and descending

* *Treſloyne* the second siedge he did not for tifie his house, for it was taken by his Lordship of *Carbery*, Mr. *Bowen* himselfe being at *Pembrooke*.

* The Fort and Pill-Village, his 3d siedge.

deſending Fortreſſe, whilſt himſelfe in the head of the Pill-Village, ſome 20. ſcore above the Fort, placed all his horſe in full ſhew and in open view of the Enemy, (then drawn out of *Haverford*, and within two myles of the place, being 400. Horſe at the leaſt, and 1000. foot all in two bodyes looking on that poore handfull of horſe of the Major Generalls, ſet there, of purpoſe to face the enemy, whilſt in his own perſon, hee fell in, with 200. Musketeers, on the Village, having within it equall numbers, to thoſe of his own, beate them at an inſtant out of their works, took, 150. priſoners, and as many Armes, the reſt runing down into their Fort, were inſtantly purſued, and within two houres both places taken, with all their Ordnance, Powder, and Ammunition, together with 300. priſoners more; The Enemies body of horſe and foot then commanded by Sir *Henry Vaughan* (in his Lordſhips abſence) all the day long never advanced to their aſſiſtance; but in the cloſe of the evening, retreated to *Haverford*, in a very great amaſement *John Barlow*, Captaine of the Fort the two Captaines *Bradſhawe*, with Leiutenant *Parſons*, two of them old Souldiers were there taken with diverſe other Officers, *Parſons* an old ſtout man, at the firſt entring of the Fort being there mortally wounded was the next day ſent to *Haverford*, where very nobly the Major Generall gave ſpeciall order for his cure, but ſhortly after dyed of his wounds, the Fort thus taken, the Kings ſhippes then lying dry on an ebbe tyde, and under the command of the Fort as aforeſaid, were there alſo taken by the Major Generall, their Gunnes with thoſe of the Fort amounting to the number of ſixty odde at the leaſt, which plentifully furniſhed him with ſtore of Artillery, which he then exceedingly wanted. It is very remarkable, what hapned the following evening, through the panick feare, that then poſſeſſed the Enemy: the relation whereof may bee of ſome recreation to the Reader: The night being come on, and the Major Generall and his men then overwatcht and tyred, tooke up their quarters in the Pill-Village, having ſufficiently performed more then they expected they could poſſibly doe in ſo ſhort a time, and with ſo weake forces and the enemy, though in *Haverford*, and within their works freſh and of good numbers, yet extreamly timerous, and

doubtfull that the Major Generall would that night fall in on the place, and ſtanding on the way toward the *Pil*, ſome halfe a mile diſtant from the Towne, they heard a great noyſe of running and cluttering, under the place where they had taken up their ſtanding, which was no other then the running down of a heard or drove of Cattle, out of the adjoyning mountaine (being ſenſible by natures inſtinct of the ſtorme that immediatly followed) to take ſhelter under the Walls of an ancient *Rudra* of buildings ſtanding in the bottome, a little below where the Skouts ſtood ſentinell. They being amazed at the night darke, and ſtormy cooke the Alarme for good, ran into the Towne, and crying out that the Major Generall, with his whole Army, was at hand: Whereupon in all poſt haſt, they all packt away in the night toward *CARMARTHIN*, Sir *Henry Vaughon* in the heat of the feare, in a very uncivill manner taking a long with him Sir *Hugh Owins* his Priſoner in his ſtockin, not giving him time to pull on his Bootes and calling him Traitor, avouching, that that diaſter befell them, by reaſon of his non-complyance, the good Lady his Wife not willing ſo to leave her Husband, could not be perſwaded to ſtay behinde, but in her night Gown road all the night behind him, the Enemy having made ſure worke with their powder had caſt it into the River, leaving their Cannon and the Towne to the diſcretion of the Major Generall, who the day following, entered with his Forces, and quartered in their places.

That part of the Country being then well cleared of the Enemy, the Major Generall, (upon ſome ſmall reſt) drew up all the force he could poſſibly make to the Towne of *Tinby* a place finely ſeated on a Rock, or little promontory invironed on two ſides with the Sea, and on the land ſide, with very high thick, and impregnable Walls, Towers, and platformes; The Major Generall having the firſt day of his ſitting down, planted a Demi-Culvering, 1200. yards diſtant from the North Gate of the Town, with another ſome what lower, but more wide and beth on the declyning of the Wind-mil-hill, over againſt the Towne; the firſt played on the very Gate and entrance thereof, the reſt of the Gates having beene before barricadoed and ſtopt up, the other Gun planted more wide

wide, plaid both into the Haven, and the Towne, whilſt the Ships being come about from *Milford*, plaid all from ſeaward over the Towne, without any other anoyance to the beſieged, more then the beating downe of ſome of the roofes of the Inhabitants houſes: only the Demi-Culvering planted at the diſtance aforeſaid, and that plaid on the Gate, being attended with a very expert Cannon-neere, the 3d. day following made a very fortunate ſhot, and beate open the Wicker through the Portcullis at which the Major Generalls Foot, then quartering in the *Norton* [even up to the Gate] which is a long ſtreet or ſuburbe without the Walls; taking the opportunity, deſperately ran in & preſently poſſeſt themſelves of the place the Governour *Guin* being ſlightly hurt before and in his Chamber, not doubting of any ſuch accident & hearning, that the Souldiers were already entred, ran into the Street, and incountring them, was there mortally wounded, with ſome other of the defendants ſlaine in the place, wherewith himſelfe, Colonell *David Gwin*, Captaine *Butler*, Captaine *Lewes*, and Lieutenant *Protherow* were taken with all the Souldiers, to the number of 300. or more, *Guin* the Governour within foure dayes after died of his wounds, and had an honourable interment given him by Captaine *Phillip, Bowen*, then commanding the Towne under the Governour, Captaine *Thomas Laughorne*.

It is very remarkable, that a place of that ſtrength, and man'd with neare as many men as thoſe [that had beſieged it, ſhould ſo Miraculouſly be taken in, in ſo ſhort a time, where 200. good Souldiers [the Towne Victuled] are able to defend it againſt an Army of 5000. reſolute men, yet thus much ought to be aſcribed to the Townſmen, that howſoever formerly they ſtood divided amongſt themſelves, as terrified with his Lordſhips continuall threats, yet on the emperinos demeanour of *Guin* the Governour, and the inſolency of *Butlers* Souldiers, they to late found their error, and foure dayes before the Major Generalls ſitting downe, ſent him word of their good affection, they had to do him any ſervice which might conduce to make him Maſter of the place, only this Intelligence was ſubſcribed (*Tinby*) without any particular hands of the Inhabitants, which the Major Gen-

Generall calling to mind at the firſt entry of the Towne, out of noblenes, and the deſire he had to preſerve the place from ruine, offered the Souldiers 200.l. out of his own purſe to forbeare the plunder thereof; but ſuch was the greedineſſe of Captaine *Swanleyes* ſea men, with ſome others of Capt. *Poyers* companie, that he could not pervaile but the towne, and many an honeſt man were without mercy, and reſpect of more than three or foure perſons, were generally plundered, and utterly undon.

Carew yeelded by compoſition.

The Major Generall thus miraculouſly proſpering, and his ſmall numbers incouraged with good ſucceſſe, ſent his ſummons to the Caſtle of *Carew* foure myles diſtant from *Tinby*, where the Governour Capt. *Edward Loyd*, a very buſie active and violent man, againſt the Parliament, ſurrendred it upon conditions that hee and his company might ſafely retreate to *Carmarthin*, whereby all the County of *Pembrooke*, was then totally cleered of the Enemy; the Major Generall after ſome pauſe and reſt given to his tyred Forces then determined, to invade the County of *Carmarthin*, wch had ſo much indammaged that of *Pembrooke* through their pride, and the contempt they had of ſo inconſiderable a party, which had oppoſed the Lord Generall; And the *Summer* 1643. being well entred having diſpoſed of his priſoners in the Towne, and Caſtle of PEMBROOKE the principalls as aforeſaid, were Colonell *David Gwin*, *Butler*, *Lewis*, two of the *Bradſhawes*, *Edwards*, and *Barlow* all Captaines, the laſt whereof having beene Commander of the *Pill-fort* as aforeſaid, on ſute of the Major Generalls wife, [a Gentlewoman of honourable comportment] and on his owne proteſtations, and oathes made to her, that thence forth he could remaine a quiet man and a true priſoner, [after ſome time of cloſe reſtraint] had the free liberty to walke the towne but ſuch was his, and the perfidy of a Church Papiſt, that ſhortly after, taking his time, in the night hee got over the Walls, and for ſome few dayes hyding himſelfe at one of his tenants houſes, journed directly to *Oxford*, where with great earneſtneſſe, he petitioned the King, that an Army under ſome more experienced Commander, then his Lordſhip of *Carbery*, might inſtantly be ſent downe as well, to prevent the Major Generalls incurſions into the heart

heart of South-Wales, as alſo timely to reduce the County of *Pembrooke* to his Majeſties obedience, which the King at firſt abſolutely denyed, as a ſute, that then ſorted not with the condition of his Majeſties affaires; but *Barlow* as obſtinately perverce, as perfidious, perſiſted ſo farre in his ſolicitation of her Majeſtie, as that within a very few dayes after, It was reſolved by a Councell of Warre, that an Army ſhould bee ſent downe, and a way to be thought on, how to raiſe ſuch forces, as might both maſter and roine the Connty of *Pembrooke*, to which command Colonell *Gerrard*, was then deſigned as Generall and Commander in chiefe, and the Earle of *Carbery* [then in a Cloud] diſplaced: Whilſt theſe ſolicitations of *Barlowes*, with his confederates were in agitation at *Oxford*, the Major Generall, moved from *Colby-moore* with all the Forces he could poſſibly make, and marched up to *Laberne*, an old open Towne, but a ſtrong Caſtle ſlighted ſomwhat before, by the drawing away of Cap. *Butlers* company to *Tinby*, here the Major Generall, quartered for ſome few dayes, whilſt he ſent a ſmall party to *Ewblin* Caſtle took it in and then drew off, to Saint *Cleers*, ſixe myles ſhort of *Carmarthin* where attending the comming up of more men, with his ammuition, he then marcht up within two myles of the place, the height of his Army, then ſtrengthened with 160. Engliſh, Iriſh foot, as had ſomewhat before fled out of *Ireland*, into *Milford*, as over powred there by the Rebels., but good Souldiers which he entertained, with much alacrity; with theſe, thoſe of his owne, and 80. more, taken in by the Major of *Pembrooke*, out of Captaine *Butlers* company taken as before at *Tinby* with ſome few ſea men, amounting in all neer to 600. good foote, and 200. horſe at the moſt, hee incountred the enemy, then drawne out of the Towne, having then within it, 1000. foot at the leaſt, and neere upon 400. horſe, made up out of the ſeverall Counties adjacent, and ſuch as out of love to his Lordſhip and the deſire of gaine and purchaſe to themſelves, were come up to joyne with his honours forces; the Enemy very Souldier-like, had a forehand lined the hedges on the highwayes, and approaches to the Towne, with ſtore of Musketteers, which the Iriſh foot, with other ſeconds, beate from hedge to hedge, firing in a new dexterity, with their matches

The skirmiſh at *Carmarvin* and the Towne taken by ſtorme

fighted in their hands, charging the Enemy twice for once. which they performed with much agillity, getting ſtill ground on their enemies, and following them home, even to the out workes of the Towne, whilſt the horſe had alſo a very hot incounter, Captain *Lucas* a Sea Captaine, with ſome others being there ſlaine on the place of the Major Generalls party, but more of the Enemys ſlaine, and many more wounded on both ſides, the reſt fled, or in tearmes of more honour rather retreated into the Towne, the Major Generall following them cloſe at their heeles, came up even to the gate of the entry of the Market place, where for an houre or there abouts he Treated with the Townſmen, concerning the delivery of the place whilſt Sir *Henry Vaughan* and the chiefe Commanders promiſing the Townſmen, that they would march out at the Eaſt-Gate, and ſo wheele about and fall on the reare of the Major Generalls horſe, all then in one body, in *Lammas* ſtreet, which is without the Weſt gate, and whither all the Generalls foot were then come up, but *nihil dictu facilius*, the brave wheelers about, tooke the ſafer way of running away, when the Generall made no more words, but thruſt in at the Gate with all his horſe and foot, where at his firſt entry, Captaine *John Powell* with ſome others were dangerouſly ſhot out of the Windowes, and ſo being fully poſſeſt of the Towne he there quattered neere upon 40. dayes, paying for all he tooke, both in the Towne and all the way of his Quarters in that County, only on conditions betweene himſelfe and the Townſmen that 1000. l. ſhould be collected amongſt them as a benevolence to be given to the Souldiers for redeeming the Towne from plunder, and that in regard that ſome of his Commanders were ſhot after they had entered the place, 600. l. thereof being only paid, the Generall and his Army ſpending that ſome double and treble before they retreated.

In the meane time the Townſmen for the moſt part weary of their gueſts, and ſome which before were fled when no man thought them harme, and were poſted to *Oxford*, and to the new Generall to haſten his comming to *Carmarthin*, where, by lamentable experience, they ſoone found, and long after felt the difference of their ſojourners. The Major Gene-

rall

rall ſhortly thereupon received certaine Intelligence of the advance and neare approach of the new and furious Generall, and that he quartered at *Brecknock*, but 34. miles from *Carmarthin*, who beſides the horſe which he brought out of *England*, all the way as he paſt the principallity he had raiſed what forces he could poſſibly make in the Counties of *Brecknocke*, *Monmouth*, *Radnor*, *Glamorgan*, and *Carmarthin*, Inforcing all men of abillity to beare Armes, and to attend him, and about Midſummer following was come up to *Llanmdovery* and *Albermarlis*, within 16. miles of the towne of *CARMARTHIN*. Hereupon the Major Generall held the place (with ſome better fortification) tenable, [as that time would not then give him leave to perfect,] yet in as much as he knew the Towne and Coun ry (generally) to be falſe and rotten hearted as alſo that ſhould he have reſolved to hold the Towne, [as ſome are of opinion, and do charge it upon him that he might have done] yet a more weaighty reaſon prevailed with him, timely to quit the place, for that whilſt he ſhould have remained there, *Gerrard* might march by, and ſtrike in betweene him and the whole County of *Pembrooke*, whereby it would neceſſarily follow, that his owne County, the Townes and *Milford-Haven* would all have bin expoſed to aſſured loſſe and ruine, *Gerrards* numbers ſo much over-powring thoſe of his, not then exeeeding 800. horſe and foot, therefore whatſoever is objected by ſome of the malitious Committees in prejudice of the Major Generalls Councells, that he might have ſtayed in an enemies Country without quartring on that of *Pembrooke*, and have held the Towne of *Carmarthin* in ſpight of *Gerrard*, & only by ſuch as are malitiouſly diſpoſed to detract from his worth, and utterly *Ignari Belli*, yet lowd and bold talkers, It was doubtleſſe, a good and well adviſed reſolution timely to looke to his owne towns & *Milford-Haven*, upon theſe reaſons he retreated to *Laberne*, where leaving 100. good foot in the Caſtle, under the Command of Captaine *Iones* a reſolute Souldier, within few dayes after made a faire retreat into his owne County, with all his Cannon and Ammunition, and giving order for the Guard of *Tinby*, *Carew*, and *Pembrook*, made his head quarters at *Haverford*, all which he fortified and man'd as well as

time, and his ſmal ſtrength would permit, whereupon enters the plundring Gen. *Gerard* into the County of *Pem.* accompanied with Sir *Hen. Vaughan*, Sir *Francis Lloyd*, Sir *John Stepney*, Mr. *Barlow*, Major *Hugh Butler*, *Lloyd*, Young *Rudd*, with all the remainder of my Lord of *Carberies*, Commanders, togeather with a rake-hell company more of plundering Captaines, which before we have partly liſted) taken out of divers of his Majeſties quarters, and with this gallant, and plundering Army, conſiſting of 4000. horſe and foote, he continued all the reſt of the ſummer (as being abſolute maſter of the field) waſting, ſpoyling, and firing all the chiefe ſeates, and * Houſes of the Gentry and Committees driving away all the Inhabitants Cattell, Sheep Horſes, Swyne, and whatſoever elſe of valew, much whereof was ſent into *England*, and other places of the principality under his command, and not a little ſold, ſpent, and playd away at Dice, and in debochery, and having incampt himſelfe at *Wiſton*, (the manſion houſe of the *Woogans* three myles diſtant from *Haverford*) never attempted on other, then, then on ſome ſmall peeces, as *Picton Carew* and *Roch* Caſtles, the ſeates of Baronet *Philips*, and Maſter *Walter*, the laſt whereof he cauſed to be fired, without ever falling on any of the three * greater townes, but only attending the depopulation and utter deſtruction of the whole County, till about *Bartholmew* tyde following, wanting proviſions for his owne quarters, hee withdrew his Army backwards, towards *Carmarthin*, to the Abby of *Whitland* aforementioned, where he incamped, and thence ſummoned the Caſtle of *Laberne* which Captaine *Iohnes*, yeelded on conditions to march away, with his men and Armes to *Tinby*, and preſently thereupon ſummoned the Caſtle of *Enoblin*, which was likewiſe ſurrendred unto him, Colonell *Ruſſell* then fortifying his own Caſtle of *Laberne*, and his brother Colonell *Gerrard* doing the like at *Clogervraue*, 4. myles diſtant each from the other, were both in very ſhort time made tenenable, and very ſtrong peeces, the Generall then being called to the reliefe of *Monmouth* marcht thither with the beſt of his ſtrength, both of horſe and Dragoones, leaving the body of his Army at *Whitland*, (as aforeſaid) where about *Michelmas* following, having eaten up all theſe Countries proviſions, they retreated to their winter quarters,

One thouſand houſes at leaſt barbarouſly burnt in the County of *Pembrooke*.

* *Haverford*, *Pembr*: and *Tinby*.

quarters to *Carmarthin*, leaving only behind them those two well fortified peeces, of *Laberne*, and *Clogervrane* on the Seuth, with the Castles of *Cardican* and *Emblin* on the North side of the County of *Pembrooke*, all newly and well fortified having very souldier-like made (as hee conceived) all things safe untill in the spring following, hee might re-invade the Country, take *Haverford*, *Tinby*, and *Pembrooke*, and so utterly destroy the whole County.

The Major Generall, being for that present, then freed from this rabious Enemy, and having a desolated Country open before him, collects all the forces he could possibly make, and fell in, and upon the Towne and Castle of *Laberne*, (much about the beginning of *October*, 1644.) wherein, *Russell* as aforesaid commanded and in his march thither, with 100. horse in his owne person, with an intent to view this new fortified peece, upon an open heath, a myle short of the place, he was desperately charged, with a party of Horse, commanded by our Leiutenant *Appleby*, the Major Generall having a little before layed in Ambuscado the better part of his horse which made *Apleby* the more bold to charge on a few, having reskews, straglingly comming up the hill unto him from the Castle, to his relieſe; The incounter was for the time hot and fearce, and diverse of both sides shot and wounded, untill *Apleby*, ingaged within the Ambuskado, was there slain with 15. more all of *Russells* Horse troope, and all of them very stout and daring men; the Generall, beating the rest downe into the Towne, in open sight of the Castle tooke full veiw thereof, and retreated to his body quartered then 5. myles behind him, and the next day, being the first Sunday, or 2d of *October*, came up with his whole Army, and quartered at *Lacodurmon*, within halfe a myle of the Castle; The Generalls Forces being then augmented, with a briggade (a little before arrived at *Milford*) under the command of Colo. *Beale* and Leiutenant Colonell *Carter* designed for *Sir Thom. Middleton*; with diverse others Voluntaries, as Colonell *Colmade*, Colonell *Shoffeild*, Leiutenant Colonell *Alen*, Captaine *Alford*, Captaine *Deverux*, Captaine *Tindall*, Captaine *Griffith*, Captaine *Stapleton*, Captaine *Beale*, Captaine *Slowman*, with some other Commanders, with the Irish foot, commanded by

The hot skirmish on *Caudauke* Mountaine. Major *Philips* and Captaine *Rowland Woogan* with divers others of the Major Generals party sorely wounded in this incounter.

Captaine *Ades Shawman* and Captaine *Hughs* all which the Munday and Tueſday following tooke up their quarters in the Towne of *Laberne*, conſiſting then of Horſe and foot neer upon 1600. where from the ſide of the Hill overlooking the Caſtle greene, he planted one Demi-Culverin which played into their forts and out Workes of the Caſtle, the reſt of his Guns were planted in the adjacent houſes, played alſo into their Forts and Court of Guard, the Demi-Culverin [for 2. dayes together, doing little execution, when on better advice, it was drawne downe the hill, and planted in the Towne gate, not above 100. yeards from the Draw-Bridge of the Caſtle, over which in a ſpacious roome the Enemies maine Guard lodged, and on which the Demi-culverin continually played for three dayes together, and by Saterday night following had made a very wide breach, through and through both ſides of the roome over the draw bridge, when the whole rooſte fell together, the one halfe into the Caſtle greene, the other outward fild up, the ditch under the bridge as if of purpoſe it would make faire entrance for the aſſaylants, when, about midnight the Major Generall gave order that 400. Musketeers ſhould attempt to enter, which with great reſolution they performed before the Defendants could have time to make the Gate defenſible, and with the only loſſe of 8. men, all the time of the ſiege, which was not above 6. or 7. Dayes, all their Outworkes being thus taken, 20. or there abouts ſlaine of the Enemies party, the reſt crying out for quarter had it granted, when *Ruſſell* the Governour within the Caſtle ſeeing no releeſe to come unto him from *Carmarthin* as he expected, yeelded the place by ten of the clock upon conditions that he and his Souldiers 160. in number (excepting the priſoners) ſhould have free liberty to Retreat with their Armes to *Carmarthin* leaving their Cannon and pillage to the Major Generall.

The other Garriſon at *Clogervoy ane* being the night before aſſertained of the breach, and likely hood of the ſurrender of the Caſtle of *Laberne*, by one that had ſent in the Intelligence to the Governour with advice, how little account the Major Generall made of taking thereof, and that in time they ſhould think upon their Retreat, about ten of the clock the next morning

morning, ſet fire to all the Out-houſes, burnt all their winter Proviſions, blew up the maine houſe, left their Guns, and in all haſt made their retreat by the Mountaines to *Carmarthin* diſtant from the place about ten miles.

The Major Generall after ſome reſt, then drew towards the Caſtle of *Cardican*, the ſeat of Sir *John Lewes*, where one Major *Slawter* Commanded as Governour of the place, a Souldier that ſtood much on the punctillios of honour ſpake big, the Major Generall within 30. daies after or thereabout took it in by ſtorme, together with the high talking Governour, and lodged him ſafe at *Pembrooke*, together with Captaine *Thomas Vaughane*, and one Captaine *Kemboll* an *Oxford* Scholler and learned, but a vehement and obſtinate Cavalier, and there left Colonel *Rice Powell*, Governour of the place, when within few dayes, Generall *Gerrard* (unexpected) returnes, (Colonell *POWELL*, being ſkarſe warme in his command,) and being Maſter both of the Towne and Country, laied cloſe ſiege to the Caſtle, then utterly unprovided of Victuall, but Colonell *Powell*, reſolute to defend the place with 100. good Souldiers, fed on ſuch meat as he found therein, at the taking thereof (not above ſix dayes before) which was only Oten-meale ſome few, Hearing, and Water, and with this food he ſtood it out full three weekes, notwithſtanding all the ſtormes that were daily made on the place. The Enemy having broken down the middle Arch of the Greate ſtone bridge, that parts the County of *Pembrooke* from that of *Cardican*, and having ſtrongly Barricadoed the Towne in ſeverall places, and blockt up all the fords on the great River, that no poſſible reliefe cou'd be ſent into the Caſtle, from *Pembrookeſhire* ſide, yet the Major Generall continually aſſaying to releive him, having taken up his quarters at the bridge end on the other ſide of the River, and waiting all opportunities to ſecond the Governour, could not poſſibly come over, untill that with much labour and diligence, he made his way by beating downe of long pooles and Trees into the bottome of the River, for the houlding in of ſuch materialls, as might fill up the Arch, being of great wideneſſe, and 30. foot deepe to the bottome at full Sea, and where the tides runs moſt forſibly at laſt, and with great difficulty he fild up the Arch with

Cardiean Caſtle the 6. ſiege taken and rebeſieged by Gen. Gerrard.

bruſh

brush Faggots within 12. foote of the top of the bridge, and having aforehand provided ſtore of Ladders.

In the dead time of a moſt tempeſtuous night, he commanded 300. of his Musketteers, with ſome Sea-men, which made great ſcruple to defend the Arch 12. foote downe to the one ſide, and as much in the aſſent on the Enemies ſide of the River: Having the evening before, ſhot in an Arrow into the Caſtle greene, with a little ſcrowle woond about it, ſignifying that the ſame night, and at ſuch an houre, hee would attempt to come over to his reliefe; The diſtance of both Armyes divided by the River, being much about Carbine ſhot, the Caſtle ſomewhat neerer to the Major Generals Quarters and betweene both: This Arrow falling within the Caſtle greene, was preſently taken up by a Souldier and brought to the Governour, who perceiving the contents of the ſcrowle, with the word, and adviſe to ſally ſo ſoone as hee found them, to charge the Enemies firſt Barracado; It was happily and punctually obſerved on both parties, that no ſooner had the Major Generall put over his Musketteers, and were fallen on the firſt work next to the bridge, and had beaten the Guards from their defences, and gone to the ſecond, but the Governour *Powell* inſtantly ſallyed with moſt of his foot, and ſome few Pickes (the Enemy being then ingaged, before and behind, were ſoone defeated, and within one houre all the town taken, they which eskapt, running downe, to the Church, where their maine guard then lay, with moſt of their Ammunition, which perceaving how the game went, ran all away leaving all their Armes and Ammunition to the diſcretion of the Major Generall; two excellent Demy-Culvering cuts of Braſſe hee found in the Church-Yard, and had not the Horſe ſuddenly rallied, the next morning he would have bin Maſter of all their greater Ordnance, which were then at *Trogibby* a myle from the town where the Generalls own quarter then was: we may not omit to preſent this of remarkable Obſervation, that for nine *Orten* tydes together, the worke in the Arch, ſo filld up, as is truly diſcribed) for a paſſage over of the Major Generals ſouldiers to the Governors reliefe ſtood immoveable till the very time that it was finiſhed, notwithſtanding the freſh flouds by reaſon of extreame fowle weather, were

The Seamen loath to go on untill the Generalls foote foot were firſt gone over.

The feate of Maſter *James Philips*.

were then very ſtrong and forcible, and the tyde there runing with great violence, inſomuch as the Major Gen. at firſt ſtood in much doubt that all his labour would prove fruitles, howſoever it pleaſed the great providence ſo to Order it, that it only ſtood to paſſe over his men; but the next tyde carried all the work away, to the admiration of the beholders: *Gerrards* Army thus reuted, and leſſened in the loſſe of 500 of his beſt foote, ſlaine and taken in the place, and five hundred more running from him (as weary of the ſervice) eight hundred Armes, fifteen of his horſe, with ſome of his beſt Commanders, either ſlaine or taken, in great diſpleaſure wrote an emperious and threatning Letter from *Carmartlin* to the Major General, which he ſlighted with ſilence, and after many and toyleſom marches, and watches in the dead time of a tempeſtuous Winter, having for twenty dayes together little better quarter, then hedges and ditches to repoſe himſelfe and his wearied Souldiers, yet loath to looſe time, or to give breath to a revengfull and furious Enemy, after ſome ſhort time of reſt, (firſt revictualled the Caſtle, and replaced therein Colo. *Powell* as Governour of the place) lay downe before *Emblin*, a little, but a very ſtrong place belonging to the Earle of *Carbery* which for 20. dayes together he cloſly beſieged, the houſe being very well both fortified, and defended, yet at length came to capitulation; when Generall *Gerrard* having for two moneths together traverſed his ground, through many of the Kings Gariſons, and ſtudying revenge, had recruited himſelfe both with good numbers of Horſe, and in his return inforcing all South-Wales Generally to riſe with him, his new Army, amounting to 1200. Horſe, and three thouſand foot at the leaſt, came by great and nightly marches within ſeaven myles of *Emblin*, before the little Army then before it, had any certaine intelligence of their approach: The Major Generall, being ſomwhat before gone to *Haverford* for the recruit of his Ammunition, when in the interim, on falls *Gerrard*, on the beſiegers [only ſeconded with ſome foure troopes of wearied horſe) which underſtanding of the Enemyes neere advance, yet they reſolutely charged them in the very head of their Army, and upon the firſt and ſecond charge, put them to the ſhocke, but being ſo unequally matcht, and over-powred

Emblin the 7th ſiedge.

with numbers and the maine body of the Enemies foot in ſight and marching up to the Reare of their Horſe.

Thoſe few Troops of the Major Generalls horſe, thought it a vaine indeavour any longer to ſtand them, but ſhifted for themſelves, leaving their foote to the mercy of the inſulting Enemy, which notwithſtanding ſtood it out long untill overborn with multitudes of the aſſaylants they were for the greater part either ſlaine or taken, thoſe reſolute and expeirt Souldiers of *Ireland* being of that routed number.

Vpon this moſt unfortunate defeate, ſome of the Committee of the County of *Pembrooke*, (envious of the Major Generalls atchievements, and ſuch as never did or durſt draw ſword in the Cauſe,) have not forborne moſt unworthily to brand his reputation, malitiouſly laying the blame of this diſaſter on him, and only for that he was not preſent in perſon, when the defeat was given, it being well knewne that the neceſſity of a ſpeedy recrewting his Ammunition, inforced his abſence, and that all the forces he could then make, could not countervaile the afifth part of the Enemies forces, but to proceed; on the news of this unfortunate loſſe, let the moſt malitious of his enemies look upon his former & after dilligence and what he did on the inſtant of this loſſe, when hapily ſome of them would have bin to ſeek what to have don, otherwiſe then as they did, (take their heeles and leave the burthen on his ſhoulders, which never budg'd nor forſook his charge, and the defence of his Country, let them remember when moſt of the Committees ſhifted for themſelves, whether at the inſtant he diſpatcht not ſhipping, ſuch as were moſt fitting for *Cardican* River) with advice to Colonell *Powell*; with all the expedition he cou'd to embarke himſelfe and his Souldiers, with all his Ammunition, and to ſlight the Caſtle which with celerity & great circumſpection was timely performed, and a Commander of worth with his full company and armes all preſerved beyond expectation, and before Generall *Gerrard* could imagine what might become of him, ſafely arrived at *Milford*, and came to the Major Generall at *Pembrooke*, they may remember if they pleaſ'd what a dead liſt was then left on their ſhoulders, when moſt of the Gentlemen either fled their Country or ſtood off at Sea in a ſafe ſhip, they alone with

with a handfull of men both ſtood to the work and preſerved what poſſibly could be ſecured, the one betaking himſelfe to the Govern ment o *Tinby* the other of *Pembrook*, where with great and inſupportable care and dilligence, they ſo ordered the Townes, that a royall Army (on ſix Monthes ſiege) might very well have ſpent their paines and loſt their labour in attempting on either, as *Gerrard* himſelfe before *Pembrooke*, during his ſix weeks ſiege found that to be moſt true.

The Major Generall had then in the Towne neere upon 500. good foot, and ſome 3. Troopes of wearied horſe, the place well fortified, but not Victualled for any long ſiege, though *Gerrard* conceived that he had then neere finiſhed the worke, but there was another accompt to be made with God, and a ſecond rekconning may be expected, that he muſt make with men, for his horrid and moſt abhominable cruelties.

Gerrards indeavour firſt was then to block up the River that runs up to the Towne, out of *Milford-Haven*, To which purpoſe he attempted to raiſe a Fort on the entrance of the River, which being made knowne to the Admirall *Swanley*, he refuſed to hazard his ſhipping to come up in the River, when Captaine *Iohn Bwen* accompanied with the Vice-Admirall, Captaine *Iohn Smith* adventured to thruſt in to the point of *Pennermouth*, where with their Ordinance beating the Pioners from their Workes they utterly diſſapointed the Generalls deſign, whethereupon made his approaches, neere, and round about moſt of the Towne, and after many and divers aſſaults, had alwayes the worſt of the bargaine, he having then forcibly drawne to his aſſiſtance, two new Regiments of very good foot; all raiſed in the County of *Pembrooke*, where amongſt other accidents, this is an infallible teſtimoney of the Major Generalls, both vallor and Vigillancy.

The Enemy one night having a deſigne to burne the Mills ſtanding on the North bridge, and a little without the Walls of the Towne, skanted then of men to ſupply the largeneſſe of the Workes, and the Major Gen. unwilling to leſſen, & unman the Guards (the Enemy ſtorming ſometimes in 3. 4. or 5. places at once) put on a reſolution, to hazard his owne perſon, and to paſſe through the Ports, and over the Bridge, ac-

companied with Captain *Smith*; Cap. *Bowen*, and ſome other Gentlemen then in the towne, where in the darke, they fell on the party that were making their approaches towards the mills & being together by the eares; the Major Gen. was laid hold of and diſarmed by one of the enemies Commanders, the on tuging the other, each of them ſtriving to make the one or the other their priſoner, when as the party not ſeconded with freſh men, the Major Generall fortunately got cleare, and recovered over the bridge, Captaine *Smith*, being there moſt unfortunatly ſlaine in the place, Captaine *Bowen*, Maſter *Griffeth Lort*, with the reſt, ſome of them recovering the ports over the bridge, others adventuring to goe through the River with great difficulty, ſecured themſelves within the gate; In the meane time, and during ſix weekes ſiedge, with the ſlaughter of many of the aſſaylants, the newes of the loſſe of the Field at *Naſeby*, came to the knowledge of *Gerrard*, with command from the King, to come up ſpeedily to his Majeſties aſſiſtance, who then loath ſo to quit his hold, and to raiſe his ſiedge before the Town, inſtantly marcht away with about 2000. of his Horſe and foot to *Rogland*, having ſtill the whole County at their devotion, with divers Gariſons in the Country, as the Caſtles of *Pilton*, *Carew*, *Manner-byer*, and *Lamphy*; but on a ſecond and more ſtrict command to march away with the reſt of their Army, and to fire the Country, having left behind him, ſome 1800. horſe and foot, under the command of Colonell *Stradling*, as a ſufficient power [as he ſuppoſed] to maſter the Feeld, who raiſing the ſiedge before *Pemb.* retreated, and quartered at *Haverford*: intending before his departure utterly to lay waſt the whole Country.

From whence this new Commander Col. *Stradling* ſent out his peremptory mandates, on paine of death) to all Conſtables of the ſeverall hundreds to bring in all ſorts of labourers mowers, and hookmen, throughout the County, to cut down and deſtroy all ſuch corne, as was not then come to maturity, and to fire the reſt then grown ripe and combuſtible, It being then much about the beginning of *Auguſt*, 1645. when diverſe of thoſe ſad warrants came to the Major Generals hands, by ſuch as fled to the Towne of *Pembrooke*, and ſome poore men, loath to be the inſtruments of their own deſtruction

ction, were ca'ld out, and in moſt barbarous manner har g'd by *Stradlings* command, The Major Generall thereupon called a Councell of Warre, where it was preſently determined that withall the Horſe and Dragoones, he had then at *Pembrooke*, he ſhould inſtantly poaſt to *Tinby* (the way thither lying between the Enemies two Gariſons of *Carew* and *Manner-byer*) and there to conſult with the Governour Colo. *Powell*, what was to bee done, in the caſe; and being come together, the Major Generall imparted unto him the tenor of the ſaid warrants, which were no news to him, who the night before receaved diverſe of them, by ſuch as were fled to *Tinby*, but there it was ſoone reſolved, that both Gariſons ſhou'd joyne all their Forces, and inſtantly to take the field, and with what other Forces they could poſſibly make to give the Enemy battell, whereſoever they could incounter him: To this purpoſe the randezvous was appointed at Saint *Florence* much about the middle way, between *Tinby* and *Carew*: This reſolution (as I am informed, for we ſtrangers were then all gone out of the Country) was taken about the latter end of *July* 1645. on a Saterday, and the Munday following, both the Major Generall, and the Governour *Powell* happily met at the place appointed; where they were informed that a brigade of the Enemies horſe were then quartered, at *Martell-Tow*, about eight myles diſtant from Saint *Florence*, hee ſo contrived it, that ſending a party of horſe and Dragoones in the cloſe of the evening, recovered the place before day, and took moſt of the Enemies horſe, with many priſoners, before they could imagine, that he had taken the field, and looſing no time, upon Intelligence, that Captaine *Edward Loyd* [that mouthy-Malignant rayler againſt the Parliament) then quartered at *Burton*, on the other ſide of the River of *Milford*, he carried the buſineſſe, with ſuch celerity and ſecrecy, that with great difficulty, he tranſported a party of Musketteers over in the night, which ſurprized the Captaine withall his company and Officers in their beds [they not dreaming that the Major Generall could come over, or was able to take the field;] and immediately thereupon marched away to ſeeke out the Enemy, whereupon thoſe allarmie, and the beating up of his quarters in ſeverall places, they drew out, with all their ſtrength

into the field, doubting (as it seemes) of their safety in *Haverford* (then sufficiently fortified) or that the Major Generall might have some further designe, whereof they could not then make any certaine Iudgement, the River lying between both their Armies, The Enemies on *Colby* Moore distant 4. miles from *Haverford*, and the Major Generalls on the other side unknowne to the Enemy, where he would and could quarter otherwhere, then eight or ten miles distant, from *Stradlings* quarter, in such perplexity of his aboad did the Major Generall keepe the doubtfull Enemy, when on the Wednesday following the Major being come over with al his little Army appeared in view of the Enemy, neere unto Slebadge where that gallant old Gentleman Mr. *Iohn Laberne*, the Major Generalls Father was in the evening most unfortunatly shot and slaine in the place (as mistaken for an Enemy) by one of the Generalls owne Scouts, which was a great disheartning to the Army & disappointment of that nights designe, howsoever, the Friday following their Rendezvouse at St. *Florence*, the Major Generall viewing and facing the Enemy all the morning, and observing their numbers of Horse and foot so much to exceed his owne, thought it not fit then to hazard his handfull of men, not above 300. horse at the most and eight hundred foot, the Enemies horse being full five hundred and neere upon double to his of their foote, But drawing away, hee found his Men so willing to fight, and to put it to the hazard, and that the Enemy stood at the Gaze and moved not at all, he presently gave order that 160. of his Troopers should charge home on Stradlings whole body of horse which they did with such courage, that on the second charge they totta.y routed al the enemies cavelry, and following their good fortune continued to chase them, six, or eight miles together and untill the close of the evening, having slaine and taken neere upon 100. they retreated to their Major Generall, whilst in his owne person, with his owne reserve of horse and foot, he fell on the enemies Body, where he killed of them on the place 120. and took of the remainder 500. more of them Prisoners, with all their Armes, cariages, and Ammunition, the residue both of their horse and foote fled towards *Carmarthin*, 20. miles distant from

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the place of the battle. The Major Generall having thus by Gods great blessing obtained so miraculous a Victory, ascribed the glory to him that gave it, and therupon, tooke up his quarters at *Haverford*, where treating with his Prisoners, and understanding in what distresse the Towne of *Youghall* then stood, he found most of them very willing to go for *Ireland*, and to renounce the retaking of Armes against the Parliament, wherupon, having shipping ready in the Haven, he gave present order for the embarking of 400. of them, to bee Landed with all expedition at the Towne of *Youghall*, whether it was their good happe timely to arive to the releife of the place; and where they behaved themselves very manfully, in sallying on the Rebells, and beating them out of their Workes.

In the meane time the Major Generall following this Victory, summoned the Enemies Garrisons of *Picton*, *Carew*, and *Manneryer*, then the only remainder of *Gerrards* great and plundring Army, which by degrees, and within a very short time were all surrendred unto him, and the whole County againe totally cleared of the Enemy.

The Major Generall then exceedingly tyred; yet with as convenient speed as possibly he could drew up againe towards *Carmarthin*, (his owne County being then utterly unable to feed an Army) and on the fame of his approach and the Enemy there of greater strength then his, and within a strong and well fortified Towne yet in Civility were well pleased to dislodge and to give way to the Major Generall to enter, at one end of the Towne, whilst the Enemy marcht out at the other.

The Towne, and the whole County of *Carmarthin*, then weary of the Warre, and resenting their former forwardnes, but especially the insolency of *Gerrard* & his rapatios followers, [when at first they might have beene securely quiet,] submitted themselves, to the Major Generalls command, who notwithstanding he had before taken the place by storme, never plundered it, nor any part of the County, but onely the hundred of * *Dartleffe*, a skirt of that County, destinated as

* The chiefe sufferers in all the County of *Carmarthin* were, Mr. Evand Thomas, Mr. *Cradock* a very dilligent Preacher, Mr. Tho. White, Mr. Arthur Stafford, Mr. Henry Lloyd, Mr. Gunter; all of the hundred of Durtleffe, and Mr. Richard Vaughan Vnkle to my Lord of *Carbery*, Mr. Iohn, and Ed. Mansell with many more of inferior ranke, especially Mr. Grindye, the one Brother barbarously kild in his House by Captaine Ed. Lloydes Souldiers, the other arraigned and condemned to be hangd, drawne, and quartered by that reverend Iudge Ienkins.

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it ſeemes) on both ſides to utter ruine, as a peece, lying between two diſſenting Counties: I am bound by the obligation of truth (which I have aſſumed without all partiality) to lay down all paſſages in their naked verity, ſo neer as my own knowledge, and other informations may warrant me, and amongſt many others here to leave this animadverſion, of ſpeciall marke; *Viz.* That Generall *Gerrard* was the moſt inſolent and barbarous Commander, that ever was employed in his Majeſties ſervice and in both his expeditions into thoſe parts, was accompanied, with more diſſolute and plundring Captaines then, were in any of the Kings Armyes, and with as deſperate a crew of baſe and blaſpemous Souldiers, and theevs then any throughout the Kingdom; The E. of *Carbery*, his kindred, allyes and followers, which at their firſt taking up of Armes, were ſo ſedulouſly forward againſt the Parliament, have all of them very good cauſe to verifie this aſſertion, *Gerrard* ſparing not, to put on his Lordſhip, and his kindred all the skornes and inſolent language, that could have beene imagined to proceed from a Gentleman profeſſing the way of honour; telling *Middleton* the High-Sherriffe to his face, [and on no juſt occaſion] and one that was as forward in his Majeſties ſervice, as any; God-dam-me, thou art a Turd, and I will hang thee, and ſuch fellowes as thou art, at your owne doores: In ſhort the welch Nation, have had enough and more then their bellies full, of their unnaturall riſing, againſt their conſernatory: yet thus much, we muſt acknowledge, as an advertiſment in the eye, of all men which were acquainted with the paſſages of thoſe parts, that my L. of *Carbery* in his owne nature, (howſoever ſufficiently active himſelfe, as at firſt ſet on by the * Lords, and annimated by others aforementioned) was notſtithſtanding, a moderate Commander, and though timerous to be reputed a Traytor to the King, ſhould he not have complyed in the way as he did) as that was, and is the vulgar underſtanding of the times, and of men, which dived not into the nature of the controverſie was doubtleſſe, a private well-wiſher, to the cauſe, and if all be true, as that unworthy fellow * (and the firſt plunderer in the principality) openly averd, and at *Oxford* accuſed his Lordſhip to have plaid faſt and looſe with the King, though there he cleered himſelfe

* The Marqueſſe of *Hartford* and his brother the L. *St. Maure.*

of

of that imputation) yet in my own perticular, I have very good reason to believe that in his heart hee wisht well to the State, and was well content that the kingdoms forces might prevaile.

We have a little digrest, but we shall now goe on in our relations, and shew, that so soone as the Major Gene. had quietted and setled the County of *Carmarthin*, with that of *Cardican*, (where only Colo. *Iames Lewis*, Captaine *Thomas Evans*, Mr. *James Philips*, with some of the *Lloyds* (of any considerable quality and active in the cause) were most cordiall, the rest of the Gentlmen generally retrograde] The Gentlemen of the County of *Brecknocke*, then much desired to associate with him, to which purpose a meeting was appointed at *Lanumdowry*; where in manifestation of their hartinesse, they invited the Major Generall to quarter part of his Forces within their Countie, (where Colo. *Harbert Price*, *Gefferies* and diverse others were inveterate enemies to the Parliament, and were constant associates both with his Lordship of *Carbery*, and the Generall *Gerrard*] whereunto the Ma or Generall *Laberne* condiscended and shortly after came accompanied with 400. Horse and Foot, and quartered at *Brecknocke*, where, having intelligence, that, that Irish Rebell and Traytor, Col. *Grady*, (a Commander, that never gave quarter to any of the Parliament party) then quartered at *Pembridge*, in the County of *Hereford*, and neer upon 30. myles distance from *Brecknocke*, he gave present and private Order, that 100. horse and Dragoones should in the evening begin to march, and so to compute the designe with the time, as by the break of the next morning to fall upon *Gradyes* quarters, which was so well performed, as that the Majors men, killed diverse of them in the place, tooke 60. of the Enemies horse, and dissipated the remainder of *Gradyes* Regiment; upon their returne to *Brecknocke*, the Major then presently resolved to march, and [unexpectedly lay down on the uttermost parts of the County of *Cardican*, before *Aberrustwith*, whither before he had given order, that some Guns of Battery should be sent about unto him by Sea, out of *Milford-haven*, which being opportunly arrived, he battered the Castle, for certaine dayes, but with little effect, the place being strong, and well fortified, the enemy at his first arrivall, leaving the town, retreated all into the Castle, then under the command of Maj. *Whitly* one of *Gerrards* prime plunderers, and having receaved intelligence from

Glamorganſhire of the riſing of Mr. *Carne* lately deſigned high Sheriffe of that County by the Parliament, and that he held intelligence with the Enemy, and finding that he could do little good either by ſtorme, or battery on the place; and having then received a ſecond intelligence from ſome well affected Gentlemen of *Glamorganſhire*, of the proceedings of *Carne*, which had then raiſed 3000. good horſe and foot, and apprehending the conſequence, that he meant to joyn with *Ragland* forces, and all the Papiſts of the Connty of *Monmouth*, as alſo with Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, this plot of all others being of a moſt dangerous Conſequence if not in ſpeedily nipt in the badde, and that It manifeſtly appeared that this Army would in a ſhort time be the moſt powerfull and formidable, of any his Majeſty hath had on foot, if conſidered with all circumſtances, both in reſpect of the Commander in chiefe, and the men then to bee under his conduct, and on a ſecond conſideration, that within a few dayes, they would or might have bin in the very heart of the County of *Pembrooke*, and there ready to ſhake hands with the Iriſh Army ſo long expected, and noyſed, then to be in readineſſe for tranſport but taken at the beſt, and as that Army then was and might have bin augmented without the Iriſh aſſiſtance it could not have failed to have reduced the whol County of *Pembrook* taken the Haven, and all the Townes, (then ſlenderly man'd) together with the reducing of all the principallity to the irreparable loſſe of the State.

The Welch Nation, being in the Generall, a people skarce patient in peace, but impatient to be left out of faction in times of Warre, whenſoever proſperity, and the name of the King and his authority, ſhall offer opportunity, and incouragement to their unconſtant ſpirits to turne with the wheele, upon theſe conſiderations, the Major Generall, thought it not then fit to protract time, having firſt ſecured his Cannon, and re-ſent them to Sea and leaving his old Camerado Colonell *Powell* to block up *Aberaſtwith* with ſuch Companies as might ſuffice to Maſter, and keepe the Enemy from excurſions, he undertooke the moſt difficult march that could have beene choſen throughout the Kingdome, leading his little Army over as in acceſſible mountaines, (as *Hamball* did when hee paſt the *Alps* into *Italy*, and through the whole length of the County of *Cardican*, part of Carmarthin to Brecknock, where, recruting his forces

forces he marcht through the reſt of that county, then into Glamorgan, and unto Cardiffe, in the very center of that ſhire, 60. welch miles, all within 5. or 6. dayes at the moſt, where, with his wearied forces for three dayes together he fought with the enemy, kept them from uniting, routed and beat them in all places, and killed of them neare upon 1000. ſtout and reſolute Souldiers, tooke many of their horſe, 2000. Armes, reduced the whole County, and retooke the ſtrong Towne of *Caraiffe*, man'd with 800. foot, not without the loſſe of moſt of his owne Troope, with 130. of his old foot, yet to the utter overthrough and diſapointing of the Enemies deſigne (this County, ſome few private men expected, being totally falce to the Parliament.) and as we may juſtly ſay, accompliſhed much to the admiration of the times. Though now it is this Gentlemans ill fate (as it hath ever bin of all notable Commanders, to be the ſubject of detraction, to be envied, and baſely traduced, no rationall man knowes for what cauſe, neither on what grounds, more then this, that by the hand of the Almighty, he hath beene made the happy inſtrument of doing of that, with little or no conſiderable aſſiſtance, and with a poore handfull of men, and through his patience, Induſtry, vigillancy, indefatigable labour of body, and continuall travell of minde for foure yeares together hath accompliſhed that, which his ſhameleſſe Enemies skarſe ever durſt to think on, but never to undergoe the tenths of the burthen, care and toyle, which by the Bleſſing of God, & to the ſhame of his enemies, with all his traducers, hee hath nobly and faithfully performed, both in ſaving that little County of *Pembrook* from utter diſtruction, and to the no ſmall advance of all the Kingdomes affaires.

The premiſes conſidered: it is in all humble manner offered to this moſt honourable Court, that ſome of the Committees, have borne to high, as conceiving that the whole power of the Parliament reſted in their hands (I ſpeake not of all, for ſome of them have moderately carried themſelves others ſo empeperious, as expecting that not only the Souldier, but the Generall himſelfe ſhould, and ought to be wholly ordered by them, eſteeming the expence of ſome ſmall proportion of their Proviſions, and eating a little of their Graſſe and Graine, an affront done to their Authority, as well as to their perſons, not conſidering that where Armies are on foot, liberty and the ſword will

beare the ſway, private Souldiers may happily obey their ſuperior Officers. But to bee over-awed with more maſterly Committees, then their owne Commanders ſeemed, to them, which knew what did belong to the Diſciplin of Warre, ſomewhat o a ſtrange nature.

The difference extending to another kind of conſequence, when the Souldier preſſing for means were payd in the Coyn of bigge lookes, and with acerbity of language [doe you know where you are, and to whom you ſpeake? doe you underſtand whom a Committee repreſents? A ſoft anſwer appeaſeth wrath, good words would have done wonders, and have freed ſome of them, from unherſing on the way and to be told to their faces, that if they fought in their defence, during their ſtay in the County, they expected pay or free quarter, untill they came where they might have both on cheaper tearmes. We are bound impartially to deliver the truth of the moſt materiall paſſages, and are not ignorant, that diſcipline is the life of an Army, but ill pay and fowle language the death of diſcipline and that ſouldiers will live, whereſoever they are not provided for, It is moſt true, that the Committees being many and of the chiefe Gentrie of the Countrie [for the greater part] held themſelves, free from quarter, & had the faculty to help themſelves, to the prejudice of their poore neighbours, which commonly were charged with more troopers, then came to their ſhares on equall quarter, whereas, out of meere parcimony, they preſerved much of their own ſtore, of Corne and other proviſions, for the mercyleſſe Enemyes, which had it bin timely diſpoſed of, either to their Gariſons, on the publike Faith, or given freely to the ſouldier (who then was to fight and defend them) as they might have done *Gerrards* Army had bin to ſeek of ſubſiſtance, and of much which he took, or fired, when moſt of the Committees fled to Sea. and left all to the fury of the Enemy: wee which were ſtrangers and eye-witneſſes of theſe and many other carriages before wee left the Country, very well ſaw, that they might have bin otherwiſe manmaged then they were, had not a kind of high and lofty bearing of ſome of the Committees, together with the private ſpleene, feveds and factions amongſt themſelves bin the originall cauſes of their preſent differences the fault of their ſufferings by the Enemy, being moſt injuriouſly by ſome of them now layd to the charge of the Major Generall

Generall, we ought not to omit, here to advertiſe that the little Army, which hitherto, hath bin under his command, never exceeded 1800. horſe and foot, ſometimes not above 1000. in the beginning not 500. and thoſe made up principally of the Yeomandry of that County, and of ſuch Gentlmen and volunteers as out of zeale to the Cauſe, and love to him & his family have faithfully ſtood to both, whence we affirm that ſhould the General) on every petty irregularity of the Souldier) have uſed ſeverity anſwerable to the diſcipline of an Army well payd, he would have miſt of many followers: and happily fayled in the performance of much, which by the bleſſing of God, hee hath accompliſhed: I ſpeake not of the common ſouldier, neither of thoſe which, were under the command of Capt. *Poyer*, which in the Generall, were of the very ſkum of the County of *Pembrooke*, and raiſed as aforeſaid by Captain *Butler*, both *Poyers* foot and horſemen, with *Swanleys* Seamen. (in the Generalty) were none of the honeſteſt men, and ſuch as more attended plundering without diſtinction, either of friends or foes, then the publike ſervice, we would willingly forbeare to remember, what the Committees both in their Articles, and late printed Remonſtrance have charged upon him but that truth ought to appeare, and that from a poore groom then a Glover, after a ſearcher in the cuſtomes, and at beſt a conſtant taker, and ſure holder faſt of what ſo ever fiſh, that came to his net: he behaved himſelfe like another, * *Jaques de Artivill*, not ſparing to affront the beſt Gentlemen of the County, and many more his betters, when on the humor and his drinking mood, he would find any occaſion to pick a quarrell; I plead not againſt his many ſervices, neither would that they ſhould be forgotten; but am humbly bold to advertiſe, that neither ſome of the Committees ought to beare the ſway which they have aſſumed; nor *John Poyer*, and his Souldiers any longer ſuffered to robbe and plunder as they have done without a Parliament muſ-rowle to put on his noſe and an good Halter, on ſuch of his Souldiers, as have often deſerved it: Now to the end that this poore diſtreſſed and deſolated County of *Pembrooke*, with the adiacent parts thereunto (all miſerably deſtroyed by fire and plunder) may by the bleſſing of God recover and flouriſh, as heretofore they have done, and the Inhabitants inabled to live in peace and unity, one with the other.

* A moſt turbulent factious Brewer in *Artivill*, a great partaker with *Edw*: the 3d in his march in *France*, afterwards ſlaine in a mutenie.

I have humbly taken leave to extend my advertiſements as a concluſion to the reſt of my obſervations, ſubmitting the whole to the wiſdome, and cenſure of this moſt honourable Court, not expecting to give ſatisfaction to every humour concerned in our diſcourſe, as having therein, tyed up my ſelfe, to the line and levell of truth, which as neere as poſſible, either my owne knowledge, or others informations could direct me, hath beene impartially preſented; If in the circumſtances, of times, and places, miſtakes of numbers or ſuch like, (the ſubſtance reſerved) ſome what, either hath bin omitted, happily miſtaken as particulars without the teſtimony of my owne kenning, I ought not wholly to be charged therewith; ſince in all doubtfull and Ambiguous paſſages. I have taken paines, and have made meanes for punctuall inſtructions, and from ſuch perſons of worth, as better knew them then a ſtranger (who neither was there, in the very *Principia* o. this horrid Warre, nor privy to *Gerrards* laſt yeares incurſion and cruelties into thoſe parts, otherwiſe then by inquiry) and could not obtaine ſo exact a delyneation, as I deſired, and if their occaſions would have permitted, were willing to afford me, which might have more compleated the relation.

It may ſuffice that my aimes, tends to the common good, without either reſpect of private ends or ſelfe intereſts; whatothers may be, which here attend to make friends, feweds, ſides, and parties; and in a malitious ſedulity ſtrive to compaſſe particular revenge, under the umbrage of the pub ike ſervice, may be better diſcerned in their own faces, and comportments, then otherwiſe drawne in the formes, and portray of Pen-manſhip That the Committees complaynants have ſuffered much cannot be contraverted neither is it a part of the diſpute in difference, their loſſes being included in the Common callamity, my owne particular, being of a ſadder ſtory then any of theirs only in the way of their complaint, it is moſt evident, that malice and envy, hath ſhared with the moſt in their purſuit, and happily may obſtruct much of that compenſation, which they might have expected to receive from the Parliament, eſpecially in their traducing and blemiſhing of the Innocent, with the nocent, and thoſe which have merited better things from them, then to have durt caſt in their faces; herein I ſay I muſt leave them to themſelves, as men overballanced in their opinions of their owne

owne worth; and ſince by the power of reaſon, they have diſpiſed to be perſwaded, there alſo I ſhall leave them to be invaded by the power of their owne abounding ſence: ſure I am that the Committees here reſiding, have not taken the right way of their owne repayre; nor for the ſervice of the Country, neither in the manner of their adreſſe, nor in the meaſure of their complaint. I wiſh them all peace and happineſſe, with that great bleſſing of unity amongſt themſelves, without which neither families can ſubſiſt, nor Kingoms ſtand, otherwiſe then in a tottering and concuſsive condition. And ſince perſwaſions cannot prevaile to attone them, when Almighty God hath ſent the devouring and flaming ſword amongſt them, and yet, it availes nothing, I crave the priviledge for the publike good, and the preſent ſervice of the Kingdom, to ſay that the eſtates ought to interpoſe and to take preſent order therein.

1. That ſome ſpeedy courſe may be thought upon, how to reduce the old fewds, and new factions of the Gentry to unity and Concord amongſt themſelves, both for the common good and the particular advance of the ſervice in thoſe Countries.

2. That the inſolencies of *John Poyer* late Major of *Pembrook* with his Souldiers, may be timely reſtrained from further plundring their friends inſtead of their foes, and ſuch of them as are able, compeld to reſtitution, that ſo the Gentlemen and Inhabitants of the three Counties, eſpecially ſuch as have faithfully ſtood to the Parliament, may live peaceably in their own homes and without moleſtation ſuffered to begin the World a new, on ſuch relicts of their eſtates, as hath bin by ſome few preſerved from the fury of the Enemy, and plunder of the Parliament party, which as yet, and untill a courſe be taken therein, they dare not adventure to do or looke upon their owne homes and diſtreſſed Families.

3. That to that purpoſe, ſome ſevere and exemplary diſcipline may be timely injoyn'd to the Chiefe Commanders, for ſuppreſſing the boldneſſe of the Souldiers, and of ſuch as are knowne to be old Theeves, and new plundring Robbers.

4. That the factious Agents here reſiding, may be ſent home into their Countries to aſſiſt in this good worke and no longer ſuffered to foment diviſions, and under colour of publike employment ſpend on the Countries charge.

5. That the many ſufferers throughout the three Counties of *Cardigan* and *Carmarthine*, but eſpecially that of *Pembrooke*, and

and those which have constantly stood to publike cause may be timely provided for, before they starve, or perish through the extreamity of want, whereunto they are now reduced.

6. That no prerendors to lesses may by favour of friends in Parliament preoccupate the estates, or Fines of any Delinquents within the said Counties, but that in the first place, they may be preserved, for some competent amends to bee made to such, as have been destroyed, and their numerous families, utterly left without subsistence and meerly for the Parliaments sake.

7. That some worthy and discreet Commissioners, may be timely deputed to examine perticuiar greevances of all kindes; but principally to inquier of such, as have from little or nothing much inriched themselves, by following of *Gerrards* Army, and quarters, and only to make prey on the well-wishers, and partakers with the Parliament, utterly at present unable to come up and to tender their sad estate to the house: There being many of this sort, throughout the 3. Counties, which have made up their fortunes, by designing and pointing out many an honest man * and well willer to the Parliament, to utter destruction, which amongst the greater Delinquents, would soone be found out, as fittest to make part of the restitution to such, as have bin only damnified by their procurement.

* *Vide, Gerrards* List of such Gentlemen as were by him appointed to be questioned for their lives and estates.

That it may please this honourable Court to take notice of the miserable condition of the County of *Pembrooke*, as also of the hundred of *Dartlesse* in the Countie of *Carmarthin*, where the Inhabitants in the generall are utterly unable to put a Plow in the ground, it being lamentable to behold, 30. myles together to lye in a manner utterly waste, and here and there two or 3. Cowes in harnises, scraping up the earth to cast in a little corn, when 500 good Plows have bin heretofore seen in the seed time merily to till the ground in plenty.

Wee shall now in all humblenesse period our Animadversions, with our hearty prayers to Almighty God, that as in this monstrous unnaturall and sanguinary conflict, he hath heitherto seconded your painfull indeavours, and in a most miraculous manner, extended his high hand, throughout the whole progresse of this horrid War; It may farther please him (on the prosperity of your Armyes, and on His Majesties comming in, after so long a range, and fatall deviation, so to conduct your future indeavours as in the first place Vnity, and Concord between both Nations may be inviolably preserved, and that the generall calamity may be timely closed up in a firme and well established Peace, to the glory of God, the honour of the King, and good of the Kingdomes; As also that the licentiousnesse of the times in seditious speakings and loosenesse of the many disaffected to you and the publike, and so long inured to rapine and plunder, may be speedily restrained as in your great providence and wisdoms, shall be thought most expedient either to employ some of them for *Ireland*, and others of them, (not to bee trusted) caused to quit the Kingdom, least a worse thing happen unto us, and that as opportunity may fall out, they unhappily put you and the Kingdomes to an after War, which that it may (by the same powerfull arme, (which hath heitherto conducted your councells) be prevented, shall be the continuall prayers of him, who hath born a share, of your care, and to that of his losses, offers both this and himselfe to yours and the publike service.

FINIS.

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